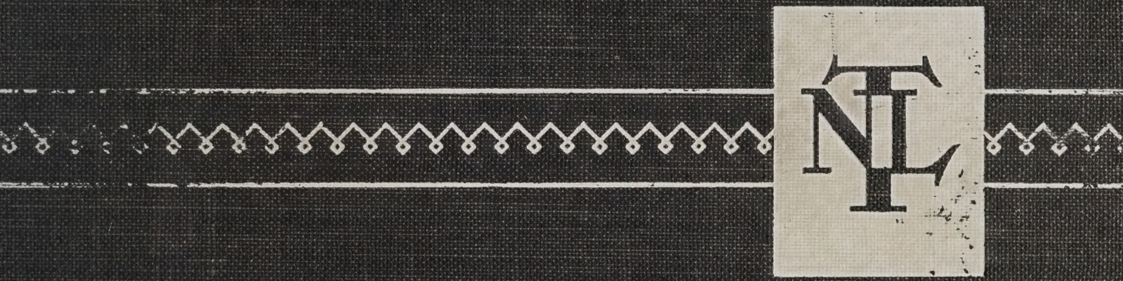
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Emotional Dynamics and Group Culture

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Emotional Dynamics *and* Group Culture

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BEHAVIOR

✓
Whitaker
Dorothy Stock *and* Herbert A. Thelen

No. 2 *of the* RESEARCH TRAINING SERIES

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES

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The National Training Laboratories

THE NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES, a section of the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association, carries on programs of training, research, consultation, and production of publications and audio-visual materials in the fields of human relations, leadership growth, community development, and application of social science findings. Its staff is drawn from many universities and institutions, and it works in conjunction with various other institutions and organizations.

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Introduction

The National Training Laboratories was built upon and has maintained the basic concept of the close interaction among research, training, and practical action. It subscribes to the theory that research and training should make up the strategy of intelligently directed action and that both should suggest necessary social inventions to meet changing requirements. Looking at the partnership in another way, training provides the method by which social-science research knowledge enters into the behavior of people, and thus into the social stream.

It is for this reason that the National Training Laboratories is equally interested in training and research. In its summer sessions at Bethel, Maine, during the past eleven years, research projects have been an integral part of the total laboratory plan, with research results being fed into the ongoing training program wherever possible. Similarly, research methods are adapted into the laboratory concept of training through use of observation, analysis, and feedback.

The National Training Laboratories has encouraged, stimulated, supported, and conducted research in the areas of individual and group behavior and of human relations training. It has studied problems of interdisciplinary research collaboration. It has stimulated efforts to conceptualize in the fields of training, learning, and change. It has engaged in much social invention in the area of training methods.

Looking toward the future, NTL's long-range research plans envisage exploration into the dynamics of the individual in relation to his potential for change, and into the dynamics or properties of environmental social situations, with particular reference to group situations.

The present book, reporting researches partially carried out at summer sessions of the National Training Laboratories at Bethel, is the second in a series of books and monographs reporting research, discussing efforts to conceptualize, and reporting social inventions in the areas of group behavior and individual and group change. Already the research reported here—representing, as it does, an integral part of the National Training Laboratories' general areas of interest—has contributed materially to the development of principles and concepts now intrinsically a part of the National Training Laboratories' approach to human relations training.

Leland P. Bradford
Director
National Training Laboratories

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Preface

In 1947 the Human Dynamics Laboratory was established within the Education Department at The University of Chicago. It was charged to study group operation and, eventually, to contribute to the theoretical and practical understanding of the effects and control of social-emotional-psychological factors in classroom learning situations.

By 1950, after many preliminary experiments with techniques, methods, and a variety of conceptual approaches, it was decided to concentrate the research program within a psychiatric approach to the group-as-an-organism, that is, to consider emotional phenomena as central objects of direct study, and to view the group as a system whose properties would depend upon the network of interaction among its members. It was further decided to take off from the concepts of W. R. Bion, then at Tavistock Institute in London. His notions of the dynamic relationships between work and emotionality, his identification of categories of emotionality, his conception of valence and of group culture—all seemed to provide the basis for a parsimonious theoretical system of concepts for studying the group as an organism.

Preliminary researches in the immediately preceding years had, among other things, explored Bion's notion of valence (or more accurately, our notion of what we thought he meant). The notion of group culture seemed to offer a way of dealing with the total group as an entity; the concept of valency provided a possible bridge between individual personality and the operation of the group; the distinction between work and emotionality fitted our own observations that one could not understand group events adequately through an analysis of task (or intellectual) aspects alone. For these reasons, Bion's concepts seemed to us a promising approach to the study of face-to-face groups.

In April of 1951, the program reported here began. The National Training Laboratory in Group Development made funds available for the recruitment and training of observers[1] who would collect observational data on four of the Basic Training Groups at its Summer Laboratory. Training was begun in Chicago and continued through practice with the first of the 1951 summer laboratories. The second laboratory provided the groups and data used in most of the research reported here. Other studies utilized data collected at The University of Chicago.

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[1] Saul Ben-Zeev, Ida Heintz Gradolph, Paul Hare, William F. Hill, Joe McPherson, Robert R. Rodgers, Dorothy Stock, and Herbert A. Thelen.

By the end of the summer, it was clear to all that the data held promise and were sufficiently "rich" to merit a great deal of further study. The project obtained assistance from The Group Psychology Branch of the Office of Naval Research, which continued its support up through July, 1955.[2] From time to time additional aid was given by other agencies to enable us to collect further data.[3]

The first concern of the program was to develop methods for collecting the sorts of data our theoretical commitments required. Methods for measuring group-relevant aspects of personality were worked out and a system of recording, analyzing, unitizing, and interpreting sequences of group interaction was developed. A preliminary report of methods was presented at the American Psychological Association meetings in 1953.[4] The final report on methods was issued from the Laboratory in 1954.[5] The present report concentrates on the substantive side: it presents the various researches and tries to show how they relate to one another and to the further development of the theory.

In addition to these two monographs, four Ph.D. dissertations grew out of the research program.[6] Four others were related to the research program in that they predated it and constituted preliminary explorations of some of Bion's concepts.[7] Two additional dissertations were conducted concurrently with our investigations and made use of procedures developed during the research program.[8] An account of practical processes of group operation, illuminated by the concepts of the theory, is found in a book[9] by the principal investigator.

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[2] The support and many kindnesses of Howard Page, Joan Criswell, and Luigi Petrullo are hereby gratefully testified to.

[3] Notably, additional groups at the National Training Laboratories, the Chicago Workshop in Community Human Relations, and the Squadron Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base.

[4] Saul Ben-Zeev, Ida Heintz Gradolph, William F. Hill, Dorothy Stock, and Herbert A. Thelen, *Methods for Research on Interaction in Groups* (dittoed), Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1952.

[5] Saul Ben-Zeev, Ida Heintz Gradolph, Phillip Gradolph, William F. Hill, Dorothy Stock, and Herbert A. Thelen, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation* (planographed), Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954, p. 208.

[6] Saul Ben-Zeev, "The Formulation and Validation of a Method for Unitizing Group Interaction," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago.

William Fawcett Hill, "The Influence of Subgroups on Participation in Human Relations Training Groups," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1955.

Morton A. Lieberman, "The Relationship Between Group Emotional Culture and Individual Change," unpublished research, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, June, 1957.

Andrew G. Mathis, "Development and Validation of a Trainability Index for Laboratory Training Groups," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1955.

The task of presenting an interpretive account of many researches undertaken over a five-year period has its puzzling aspects. A major complicating factor is that our concepts were developing over this period. A successful research is not only one that confirms the obvious; it is also one that opens doors to new ideas or one that casts doubt on unwarranted assumptions. Thus our researches are of different degrees of rigor. They make use of somewhat different definitions of concepts, both at theoretical and operational levels. Most puzzling of all, however, is that the "surplus meanings" of the various concepts—the body of allied and implied assumptions connoted by the concepts—are different, depending not only on the place of the research in time but also on the particular person who did the research.

In projects aimed to develop concepts, this surplus meaning is important: for the process of recognizing and making the surplus part explicit is, in effect, the heart of the method. Thus, for example, it was only after several researches had dealt with the concept of valency that we discovered that we were using the term to refer to at least three different relationships. This refinement was introduced, of course, into subsequent experiments. At the point of reporting all the experiments, however, we wish we could go back and introduce the later distinctions into the earlier work; or failing that, we wish we could indicate in exactly what sense the term "valency" was used. But we find that the concept as used then simply cannot be pulled apart later.

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[7] Robert DeHaan, "Graphic Analysis of Group Process," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1951.

Dorothy McPherson, "An Investigation into the Nature of Role Consistency," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1951.

Joe McPherson, "A Method for Describing the Emotional Life of a Group and the Emotional Needs of Group Members," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1951.

Dorothy Stock, "The Relationship Between the Sociometric Structure of the Group and Certain Personality Characteristics of the Individual," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, 1952.

[8] John C. Glidewell, "Group Emotionality and Productivity," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, 1953. Bettie Belk Sarchet, "Prediction of Individual Work Role in Two Adult Learning Groups," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1952.

[9] Herbert A. Thelen, *Dynamics of Groups at Work*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, 379 pp. (See especially Chapters 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11.)

Another problem is to decide how to organize the report. The complication here is that the researches done at different times range over the same ground but in somewhat different ways. Considerable violence results from attempts to lump them together either by phenomena dealt with or by principles being tested. It is only in the case of a finally worked-out hypothetico-deductive system that a relationship can be conclusively demonstrated and "nailed on the wall of the house of knowledge to last for a thousand years." Such completed systems do not exist in social science now—if ever. Research in general, and ours in particular, is to a high degree mind-stretching and stimulating: a genuine conceptual inquiry is in process. But the style and form and logic of research reporting are better adapted to the "crucial experiment" and the "confident demonstration." So we have throughout the report the very real semantic problem of the fit between our form of report and the actual nature of the enterprise it purports to represent.

The simplest answer to the problem of reporting—and a tempting one—would have been simply to reprint the accounts as they were written at the time the experiments were done. This would have meant a large amount of duplication in the parts dealing with the theory and method and procedures, and the subtle differences in description of the same material would have been confusing to the careful reader. We therefore elected for the most part (but with certain exceptions) to rewrite previous accounts, to try to present them with an eye to balance and importance, and to try to relate them to one another during this process.

Chapter 1 provides a broad orientation within which the examination of the research will be more meaningful. The research tensions and motivations, there communicated explicitly, have given direction to the research from the beginning even though we could not then have "put them into words." Chapter 2 gives a simple starting statement of Bion's fundamental notions. This is the beginning of the development of theory of group operation. The first chapter of each section adds further details, elaborations, and modifications of the theory, as needed to cope with the researches in that section. Chapter 23 tries to assess just where our experiments leave the theory: what principles have stood up under test, which ones remain too poorly defined for confident use, and which ones require further work for clarification of meaning. Chapter 24 is oriented to practice and, without departing from the theory, attempts to translate into practical terms the major implications of the entire work for those who are concerned with groups as social instruments.

Dorothy Stock
Herbert A. Thelen

Section I

Introduction

CHAPTER I

Background of the Research: Decisions and Propositions

THE RESEARCHER who studies group interaction is faced with data consisting of a sequence of verbal statements and nonverbal behaviors of a number of individuals in a face-to-face situation. His task is to understand what is going on—to make sense of the group situation. In this task he may be aided by (1) some a priori view of the nature of group interaction, and/or (2) certain procedures for data collecting. Both of these are helpful for the same reasons: they direct the efforts of the researcher by identifying certain kinds of data as relevant and certain other kinds as less relevant; and they suggest ways of organizing and relating the data.

In this introductory chapter we shall try to set down some of the considerations that led us to adopt the theory, develop the methods, and focus on the problems presented in the rest of this monograph.

There are many possible ways of viewing group operation. Thus, the group may be seen as an interacting network of individuals in which each comment is a response to preceding comments and a stimulus for those to come. The group may also be viewed as a miniature society, whose relevant aspects for study are hierarchies of influence and prestige, spontaneity, activity, and so on. Or, the group operation may be viewed historically, as a product of the past social experiences and identifications of its members. Finally, the group may be conceived somewhat more abstractly as the particular state of a field of forces carried by individuals, arising out of interaction, and whose dynamic balance determines the group's stability and potentials for change.

Work with small groups began at the Human Dynamics Laboratory in 1947. At that time the research team felt it lacked definite criteria for deciding among such an array of theoretical possibilities. Accordingly, the earliest work of the Laboratory began with empirical considerations: what kinds of data about groups can be collected, recorded, and counted on?

The first year was devoted to the exploration of a wide range of techniques for collecting data: time-lapse photography, noise level, feeling introspection, and so on.[1] From experiences with such techniques and, of course, with the groups on which the techniques were practiced, the team made two rather basic decisions that had implications for both methodology and theory and have guided our research ever since. These decisions were: first, that we would work with sequential analysis, looking at each event in relation to antecedent and subsequent events, and trying to understand group experience as a continuously modifiable flow within a field of intrinsic and extrinsic forces; and, second, that we would try to collect feelings or affect as basic data of experience during meetings, rather than stick only to objectively defined overt behaviors.[2]

These early decisions immediately required additional decisions. For example, if we represent group life along a time dimension, is the relevant unit the entire life of the group, a single meeting, or a shorter length of time? Does group life move in one continuous flow or does it move in a series of episodes? Common sense observation tells us that there are sequences in group operation. A group may, for example, work hard for a time, take time out to joke or relax, and then spend some time reassuring an anxious member. The scientific task becomes one of identifying and interpreting such units. A meaningful unit would have to be understood with respect to its purpose, the assumptions guiding its operation, and its place within a larger sequence of events.

In attempting to understand group operation—particularly in its affective aspects—we found that observers often disagreed with respect to the themes or group needs that each felt were important. This brought us face to face with the difficult problem of defining the truth about what is happening in the group. We came to feel that the truest reconstruction of a meeting is one that can best explain why each person present in the meeting behaved in the way he did and saw the meeting in the way he did. We assume that, faced with the same situation, individuals will react differently. For example, one may become aggressive, another dependent, and a third work-oriented. Similarly, individuals may feel different about the same meeting: one may feel elated, another dissatisfied, another anxious. Each person will describe the same meeting in a somewhat different way. A satisfactory explanation of the meeting is one that accounts for these differences in behavior, feelings, and perceptions. In our early work we made use of the diagnostic conference of participants and participant observers in order to establish an acceptable reconstruction of the meeting.[3] In later work we have maintained this same principle but have made greater use of systematic routines for collecting behavioral and perceptual data.

---

[1] Experiments with these techniques are summarized in Herbert A. Thelen, "Educational Dynamics: Theory and Research," Section IV, *Journal of Social Issues,* VI, No. 2, 1950.

[2] Early efforts at plotting the course of meetings through time are described in Robert DeHaan, "Graphic Analysis of Group Process," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1951. The first successful work in rating behaviors in categories of interpreted intent was John Withall, "The Development of a Technique for the Measurement of Social-Emotional Climate in Classrooms," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1948. See also John Withall, "Measurement of Social-Emotional Climate," *Journal of Educational Research,* 45, No. 3, December, 1951; and Thelen and Withall, "Three Frames of Reference: A Description of Climate," *Human Relations,* II, No. 2, April, 1949.

In searching for a conceptual scheme that could satisfy an increasing number of requirements, we felt there were some theoretical "either-or's" that should be avoided. For example, we decided to be especially wary of the separation between individual, group, and societal levels—as though these were independent aspects to be studied respectively by clinical and personality psychologists, social psychologists and sociologists, or anthropologists. In focusing our study on groups, we were actually dealing with a situation that was the product of the interaction between personality and societal factors. This meant that our work would have to be integrative in character and, accordingly, we were on the lookout for concepts that would cut across these levels. Such concepts would make possible, for example, the direct prediction from personality data to member behavior without the necessity of shifting from a distinct psychological frame of reference to a separate social one. (The concepts we selected as most promising were those put forward by W. R. Bion—of which more later.)

We decided also to be especially wary of the distinction between "emotion" and "cognition" in the ordinary sense of feeling and ideation. This separation has had awkward consequences, particularly in education, the area of application to which we wished eventually to make direct contribution.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROPOSITIONS TO GUIDE RESEARCH ON GROUP INTERACTION

During the course of our work with groups we began gradually to formulate certain assumptions about the nature of group operation that served to guide subsequent steps. This has been a continuing process: at a certain point along the way (1951) we realized that our own feelings about groups were converging on the formulations of W. R. Bion. This led us to accept certain of his ideas as a theoretical jumping-off-place for our own work. This in turn directed our attention to certain methodological needs. In applying newly developed methods to group problems, we were led to certain modifications and refinements of Bion's original theory.

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[3] The theory of the diagnostic conference is presented in Herbert A. Thelen, *Journal of Social Issues*, Section III, *op. cit.* An empirical study of the validity of the diagnostic conference as advocated here was conducted by Jeremy Sarchet, "Using Staff Conferences to Study Group Development," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1951.

It would be impossible for us, at this point—and confusing to the reader—to reconstruct each step of this process. Rather than attempt to do so, we shall present a series of postulates that represent our current thinking about group operation. In each case some of the experiences and thinking that led to the acceptance of the postulate will be presented. Following this discussion, we shall list a number of derived propositions that we feel have guided our research.

Experiences in training groups have led us to the recognition of two fundamentally different modes of group life. One is emotional, and is characterized by collective action, not listening, high feelings, contagion, and disorder. The other mode is sober, reflective, and orderly; members listen to one another. Bion recognized these modes and called them respectively "emotionality" and "work."

The recognition of these two modes of group behavior in turn implies that the group will operate, at different times, in clearly differentiable ways. In other words, during different periods of its life we should expect to see different phases or a different *modus vivendi*. Thus, *we postulate the existence of units of interaction*. This is a fairly confident postulate because it jibes with a great deal of common experience and observation, for example, a group fluctuates in its "morale," in its "work orientedness," "efficiency," and "gratification rate."

Since the psychological purposes of the two modes of behaving are quite different, and since the behaviors of one mode to varying degrees exclude the behaviors characteristic of the other, one would expect stresses to develop as the group attempts to work out its *modus vivendi*. Such stresses include, for example, blocks to communication, anxiety states in the group, and loss of direction. Individuals would react differently to these stresses, and different amounts of tension would develop in each person. The need to reduce tension would motivate participation. The nature of the participation would determine whether it would result in an increase or decrease of stress in the group.

In this view, then, group life is a process of adaptation in the face of continually fluctuating stress. *We therefore postulate that group life can be seen as an adaptive process and that our accounts of it are descriptions of the changing stresses in the group and the ways in which the group members respond to these stresses.*

We are assuming that stress in the group mobilizes tension in individuals, that the starting point for tension reduction is the development or emergence or expression of impulses, that impulses represent immediate actualizations of underlying drives, and that impulses are accompanied by more or less feeling at some level of awareness (ranging from practically zero to high intensity). *We postulate therefore that the emotional aspects of group life, and particularly the use the group makes of its feelings, will be direct evidence for diagnosing tensions and the stress conditions that give rise to tensions.*

If the attendance at meetings is the same throughout the study of the meetings, then it follows that the existence of different phases or ways of operation must somehow be due to different ways of utilizing the members of the group. There are two hypotheses possible at this point, and probably both are relevant: First, during different phases or modes of operation, the pattern of participation is different. In effect, the total group is a population out of which the participants at any time emerge as a sort of subgroup; and the participant subgroup is different during different phases. Second, as a result of experiences together over time, the behavior of everyone is biased in particular directions. The cause might be a common learning, development of taboos against certain kinds of behavior, development of laws or standards or commonly accepted criteria for evaluating behavior.

We would not expect these two bases of selection to be independent; neither can provide a sufficient explanation of why different phases exist.

The notion of different patterns of participation implies that participation of different individuals is activated by different conditions—that they respond differentially in different situations. Since the situational factor of greatest interest in this research is group stress, then the individual differences of most importance to us are (1) differences in the capability of various kinds of stress to arouse tension, and (2) differences in the means individuals use to relieve tension. *We may therefore postulate that the individual factors (for example, in personality) will be categories descriptive of stresses to which individuals are sensitive and of means individuals use to deal with stress.* These categories represent the group-relevant aspects of personality. (In anticipation of the next chapter, we may point out that the modalities of fight, flight, pairing, and dependency are used at the group modal level to represent types of stress and at the level of individual valency to represent means for reducing tension.)

From the standpoint of the second hypothesis, we note that it starts with the assumption that individual behavior may be modified; that individuals are capable of responding in many ways, and certain ways get selected in preference to others; or that particular individuals become activated to contribute their particular fixed capabilities at different times. Whichever of these is accepted, the second hypothesis says that there must be some selective machinery which results respectively in (a) everyone's learning something in common that affects his actions; (b) rules being developed that inhibit certain reactions and encourage others; or (c) administrative or co-ordinating machinery being developed that selects certain persons as the ones to participate overtly at different times. Such notions are in line with the common observations that common expectations and purposes tend to develop, that group standards develop, that leadership in some form or another emerges, that groups have value attitude systems, and that groups grow.

We therefore postulate the existence of group factors, which exist by virtue of the arrangements or interacting network among individuals rather than by virtue of what each individual independently as a person brings into the group. The group factors of chief interest in this study are, of course, those that determine in which of the two major modes the participant behavior will be cast, and also those that explain why and how the mode shifts from time to time.

The postulation of both individual personality factors and group-as-a-whole factors is puzzling to some persons. Since every behavior is the behavior of an individual, in what sense can we speak of group factors, over and above the individual, as if they were separate entities? What is the meaning of the statement that the group is more than the sum of its parts? Do such phrases as "group behavior," "group growth," and "group purpose" have any operational meaning?

There are several possible rejoinders to such questions. We were persuaded of the value of such concepts by simply observing that we use them intuitively and primitively—and with feeling—on many occasions. We may say "that is a good group"; "the group has high morale"; "we were at sixes and sevens"; "he is loyal to the group." In other words, we respond with feeling, not to each individual in the group, but to some constructed image or symbol for the aggregate of individuals. It is our belief that a good starting point for science, at least in undeveloped areas, is the intuitively meaningful, commonly used, responses of individuals.

The following are some properties of groups that justify thinking of the group-as-a-whole as an entity (a) all the individuals in the aggregate give the same reason for being together; (b) they identify with one another more readily than with others not in the aggregate; (c) they have clear expectations of one another and feel a sense of shock or discomfort when the expectations are violated; (d) they recognize someone or several persons as "leaders"; (e) they accord different degrees of prestige or power to one another, and there is common general agreement on the rank order; (f) they make a difference to one another—they are involved somehow in one another's feelings and problems; (g) they are interdependent in the sense that the success of one is gratifying to all and the failure of one makes the others feel let down; (h) they feel loyal, not just to other individuals but to the purposes, values, and actions of the aggregate; they defend the entire aggregate against attacks by an outsider; (i) they think of themselves as a group. The fact that so many seemingly dissimilar properties are found every time the aggregate assembles suggests that there is some underlying essence, in this case, groupness.

This recognition of the group-as-a-whole validity is consistent with a view of human behavior that has been labeled "interactionist," or "field theoretical." What happens is not solely a characteristic of the actor but rather of the interaction between the actor and the surrounding situation. Neither accounts for the observed behavior, for that is the result of the unique circumstance of bringing together the person and the situation at that precise moment of history. In this sense—and this is the sense in which we refer to a group—the word "group" simply stands for some organizing principle that enables us to see the behaviors of individuals, not as random, separate events, nor yet as simple stimulus-response connections, but rather as having a place within a manifold of behaviors that began in the past and can be projected into the future.

The characteristics of the group then—the group factors—emerge from the patterning of the interactions in which each person engages; at the same time, this emergent group affects the interactions in which each person engages. Thus, the persons construct the group at the same time the group exercises control over the behaviors out of which it is being constructed. The group is a system of part-whole relationships. The parts are the tendencies inhering in the individuals; and the whole is the social system they create through the expression and exercise of these tendencies. To exercise these tendencies adaptively, individuals need the social system to maintain enough orderliness and stability of expectation that they can predict the consequences of their behavior; without this, intelligent behavior would be impossible.

We may postulate, then, that the very nature of the problem for investigation is given in the interaction between personality and group; or between the tendencies and resources brought by individuals and the system of control they build to actualize the tendencies and make intelligent behavior possible.

From these postulates, we may now build a series of propositions to serve as the conceptual framework for our experimental investigation:

a. Each person has the capability for meeting stress with emotionality and with work. These capabilities, however, vary among different persons.

b. Which particular capabilities or tendencies will be actualized in a particular person's behavior depends also on the situation in which he finds himself. But the variability among situations is sufficiently limited and there is enough underlying consistency in his behavior that he is recognizable as the same person. That is, it makes sense to speak of a "personality" even though the person's behaviors may be quite different from one situation to the next.

c. Persons come together for their mutual benefit in coping with objective problems and meeting their personal needs.

d. When people get together, tensions are mobilized,[4] and interaction results. Out of the interaction arises the characteristics of groupness, including a social order and structure.

e. The social order exerts control over the interactions among individuals, thus giving to them a pattern and sequence; they, in turn, can be comprehended as necessitated by the group-as-a-whole.

f. The pattern and sequence change in character from time to time, thus creating the appearance of different units or phases of group interaction.

g. These units differ in the quality of their blend of emotionality and work and, hence, in the nature of their contribution to the adaptation of the group to the circumstances of group and emotional stresses that brought the people together or that are created as they live together.

h. The intensity of stress developed in the situation during tension release depends upon the extent to which the mode of tension release is through emotionality. Emotionality tends to be nonadaptive, but it builds stress; work tends to be adaptive, because reality-seeking, but it reduces tension with the minimum development of further stress. The problem of the group-as-a-whole is to maintain the appropriate blend, balance, or oscillation between these two modes of behaving.

i. As the group continues to meet, individuals adapt to the group and they adapt the group to the individuals; and changes occur in the modal tendencies of the units of interaction. The changes will be greatest when the mode of work is dominant, for work results in learning and reorganization. Thus group growth is the net result of the energy flowing into the work aspects of the adaptive processes.

These, then, are some propositions about the nature of group operation that have guided our research efforts. They constitute a particular way of looking at group interaction. Our research can be seen as an attempt to formulate specific questions suggested by these propositions, to hypothesize answers deduced from and/or explainable in terms of a stated theory of group operation, to collect pertinent data by observation or experimentation, to test the accuracy of the hypotheses as applied in the studied situations, and thus to test the adequacy of the theory.

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[4] Consider, for example, the fact that clear sociometric differentiations can be made within the first few minutes of a meeting of strangers.

We proceed now to a general statement of theory, then to the reporting of a series of studies on a variety of group problems conducted within this framework.

CHAPTER II

Overview of Bion's Theoretical Concepts

The studies reported in this monograph explore the possible applications of a single theoretical framework to a variety of group problems. This framework was originally developed by W. R. Bion as a result of extensive experience with therapy groups.[1] Our present application to training groups has produced certain modifications and extensions of Bion's formulations.

Before discussing the theory itself, it is important to understand something about the particular kind of group experience that led to its formulation. Bion dealt in a rather special way with small groups of neurotic patients. As therapist, he provided the group with no direction or structure. The patients' reactions to this lack of structure—such as frustration, anger, or passivity—constituted the initial material for the therapy. As the group moved along, its content might derive from personal experiences of members or from group events, including members' feelings about the therapist or one another. The therapist's interpretations focused on two kinds of phenomena: the group's mood, and individual members' reactions to the group situation. For example, Bion might indicate to the group that the members were banding together to misunderstand his comments, or that Member X wanted to speak but felt he would be rejected by the rest of the group if he did so. One has the impression, from his articles, that Bion interpreted to the group its emotional state immediately as he became aware of it. The two major and perhaps distinguishing characteristics of Bion's approach as therapist are thus (1) an emphasis on the interpretation of group rather than individual phenomena, and (2) a rather immediate

Therapists

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[1] W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: I," *Human Relations,* 1948, I, No. 3, 314–320. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: II," *Human Relations,* 1948, I, No. 4, 487–496. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: III," *Human Relations,* 1949, II, No. 1, 13–22. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: IV," *Human Relations,* 1949, II, No. 4, 295–304. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: V," *Human Relations,* 1950, III, No. 1, 3–14. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: VI," *Human Relations,* 1950, III, No. 4, 395–402. W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: VII," *Human Relations,* 1951, IV, No. 3, 221–228. W. R. Bion, "Group Dynamics: A Re-View," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* 1952, 33, 235–247.

interpretation of the group situation to the group. It is important to realize that this therapeutic approach may have made certain kinds of group events more prominent than others. And this in turn influenced the kind of theoretical view of group operation Bion developed.

As Bion observed his groups of patients, he noticed certain massive emotional reactions in the group. At times, for example, the group appeared to be *unanimously* expressing a need to run away from the group situation or to demand that the therapist provide more direction. From this kind of observation Bion developed the idea that a group could be thought of in terms of a series of emotional states or basic assumption cultures in which some affective need was inextricably associated with the work the group was trying to do. He saw individuals as contributing toward, acquiescing in, or reacting against, these cultures. Members also formed relationships with one another on the basis of their affinities for the various cultures. The particular relationship between the individual and the culture is accounted for by what Bion called "valency."

These two concepts—the basic assumption culture and valency—are fundamental in this theoretical approach. The first pertains to the situation in the group as a whole; the second refers to the individual member and his tendencies toward interaction in the total group.

WORK AND EMOTIONALITY IN THE GROUP CULTURE

In developing his concept of the basic assumption culture, Bion perceived that work and emotional components of group life are so interrelated that one never occurs without the other, and that an understanding of group experience can come about only when both are studied in their dynamic and changing relationships to each other. The work aspects of group operation are the consciously determined, deliberative, reality-bound, goal-seeking aspects of the group's activities. While task activity can always be perceived in the group there are times when an analysis of this kind of activity alone cannot explain what is happening. At times, for example, although the group may say it is interested in solving some problem, all its behavior seems to lead it farther and farther away from coming to grips with it. Or a group may seem to engage in apparently illogical activity, which becomes understandable only if one sees that it is preoccupied with (for example) its relation to its leader. As a result of this kind of observation, Bion came to see that the work activity of a group is always influenced to some extent by certain emotional states or concerns. In contrast to work, the emotional preoccupations of the group are nonpurposive, "instinctual," and not under conscious control. He felt that the emotional aspect of group operation could be described in terms of three rather comprehensively defined emotional states, which he called "cultures." These are dependency, pairing, and fight-flight. That is, a group can be described at any given time as operating in a work-dependency culture, a work-pairing culture, a work-fight-flight culture, or as being in some transitional phase. In each case the work aspects of the group's activities are suffused and influenced by the emotional state or concern.

In defining these group cultures, Bion says that when the group is operating in a work-dependency culture it is acting "as if" (that is, on the basic assumption that) the group exists in order to find support and direction from something outside itself—the leader, external standards, or its own history. When it is operating in pairing-work it acts "as if" its function is to find strength from within its own peer group. When it is operating in fight-flight-work it is operating "as if" its purpose is to avoid something by fighting or running away from it. The "as if's" in these definitions are important, since they indicate what Bion does *not* mean when he describes a group as operating in a certain work-emotionality culture. He does not mean that when a group is operating in dependency-work, for example, nothing but dependency is expressed, or that the group is consciously aware of its preoccupation with dependency, or that the dependency can necessarily be directly observed. What he does mean is that if one makes the assumption that the group is acting as though it needs support and direction from something outside itself, then the diverse and apparently illogical and contradictory behaviors of the members of the group can be understood and will take on a certain coherence and order.[2]

To summarize, a group's activities can be described in terms of work and emotional components that are in dynamic interrelation. At specific times the particular emotional state associated with the work activities may be pairing, dependency, or fight-flight. The ongoing process of a group can be described in terms of successive shifts from one of these work-emotionality states or cultures to another. When a group is operating in a particular work-emotionality culture this means that its diverse activities can be understood if one takes into account the basic assumption underlying that particular culture.

The concept of group culture is one that is applied globally to the total group process. It provides a means for understanding such problems as climate, group development, and overt and covert aspects of group functioning. It illuminates aspects of group operation that refer to the group as a whole rather than those involving the individual member. Further theorizing seems necessary in order to permit dealing with individual-group phenomena such as group composition, participation pattern, and sociometric choice.

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[2] This identification of the basic assumption on which the group is operating is exactly what any leader or observer does when he asks himself the question, "What is this group *really* doing?" The answer—it is really being hostile to the leader, it is really trying to avoid getting anything done on the work task, and the like—is analogous to defining the emotional culture.

VALENCY

Bion developed the concept of "valency" to pertain particularly to the relation between the individual and the group culture. He defines valency as ". . . a capacity for instantaneous and involuntary combination of one individual with another for sharing and acting on a basic assumption."[3] Thus valency is an inherent property of the individual that accounts for the nature of his participation in the emotional aspects of group life. It refers to the particular way in which the individual interacts with the group culture and appears to involve two interrelated aspects: expressive behavior and combining with others. Expressive behavior refers to the kind of affect the individual is most likely to express behaviorally in the group.[4]

By "combining with others" Bion means the capacity of individuals to support or co-operate with others in developing, maintaining, or moving away from the various work-emotionality cultures. He uses the possibly obscure term "combining" because he does not want to imply that such activity is at all purposive, conscious, or planned in character. That is, the individual contributions to the affectual aspects of the group's life are in keeping with the nature of emotionality in the total group and are also essentially nonpurposive in character. To summarize, the individual's predispositions to act or combine with others in support of some work-emotionality culture form a pattern of internal tendencies of which he may be only dimly aware, but which nevertheless form a coherent system that influences the particular ways in which he responds and contributes to the various emotional cultures.

APPLICABILITY OF BION'S CONCEPTS IN OUR RESEARCH

Taken together, the two concepts of group culture and valency form a theoretical frame within which many problems of group operation can be described and studied. In our work at the Human Dynamics Laboratory, we have applied these concepts not to therapy groups but to training or decision-making groups. Bion led groups whose expressed purpose was to provide help for members in dealing with personal problems; the training groups we have studied are designed largely to help members improve their understanding of group operation and of their own feelings and behaviors in group situations. The goals are thus somewhat different. Yet there are similarities between the two kinds of groups. In a training group, too, discussion is free and takes its character from the needs and interests of the members. The role of the designated leader is to interpret group process in order to make the group's operation explicit to the members. Again, the focus is on total group culture and the relation of individual members to the total culture.

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[3] W. R. Bion, *International Journal of Psychoanalysis, op. cit.*, p. 237.

[4] In characterizing the affective content of individual statements we make use of five basic categories adapted from the three Bion used to define total group culture and redefined so as to apply to this more microscopic, individual level. The five categories are: fight: expressions of aggression and hostility; flight: expressions of avoidance, withdrawal, or irrelevancy; dependency: expressions of reliance on the leader, structure, etc.; pairing: expressions of warmth, intimacy, and supportiveness; counterdependency: expressions of excessive denial of a need for help or direction.

Both in Bion's therapy groups, then, and in training groups, one can expect emotional aspects of the group interaction to emerge rather clearly: because discussion is free and limits are wide; because the group's emotional state is interpreted fairly continuously; and because such interpretations may elicit massive emotional reactions from the group. The training group thus appeared to be an appropriate kind of group to utilize in testing and exploring this particular theoretical framework.

In the chapters that follow, these theoretical notions are applied to such problems as individual behavior, participation pattern, group development, and individual change. A theoretical chapter precedes each major section, in each case discussing in more detail the aspects of the general theory most relevant to the problem being considered.

Section II
Individual, Subgroup, and Group Interaction

Part A

Group-Relevant Aspects of Individual Personality: The Concept of Valency

CHAPTER III

Group-Relevant Aspects of Personality: Introduction

THE RELATIONSHIP between the individual and the group is complex. Clearly, the individual possesses personal needs and characteristics that partly determine his behavior when in a group situation. Just as clearly, group factors such as task, atmosphere, and standards play an important part in stimulating, limiting, and guiding behavior in the group. To deal with these complex interactions requires a theoretical framework whose basic concepts are equally applicable to both individual and group aspects of interaction. In our framework, the concept of valency expresses the behavior-determining aspects of the relationship between individual and group. In this section we develop, explore, and test some of the meanings of this concept.

The characterization of individual behaviors in terms of flight, fight, pairing, and dependency. In his original formulation, Bion[1] suggested that at any given time the group-as-a-whole acts as if it were operating on one of three basic assumptions: that it will maintain itself through developing intimacy (pairing), through reliance on external authority (dependency), or through fighting or fleeing from stress (fight-flight). During each phase members can be seen either as accepting and expressing the basic assumption or as reacting in some other way to its existence in the culture of the group. It was supposed that these individual ways of reacting to the various basic assumptions operating in the group culture might reveal basic tendencies in personality. Thus, when the group appeared to have the purpose of establishing dependency on the leader, one individual might respond with hostility (fight) and another with efforts to deepen his relationships to other individuals (pairing). Thus the question arose as to whether these basic assumption categories or modalities, meaningful for studying the group as a whole, might also be applicable to individual expressions and behavioral predispositions.

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[1] W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups: III," *Human Relations,* 1949, II, No. 1, 13–22.

Successful characterization of individual behavior in these terms should, we hoped, enable us to describe the individual's over-all pattern of behavior expected in group situations and to identify the ways in which the individual would behave when the group was in different kinds of emotional or basic assumption situations. It should open the way to description of such roles as spokesmen for the various emotionality cultures and to identification of specific ways in which individuals respond affectively to the group situation. In short, it should help us to identify the particular ways in which each group member would contribute to the development, maintenance, and dissolution of a variety of work-emotion cultures of the group. Such description would comprehend the group-relevant [2] aspects of individual personality.

A behavioral rating procedure was developed [3] by means of which work and emotional components of each statement made in the group could be categorized. Each statement was assumed to contain some work, and four work categories were identified: they ranged from personally oriented work to highly insightful and interpretative group-oriented work. It was further assumed that a statement might or might not contain detectable affect. The categories of emotionality were fight, flight, pairing, and dependency, alone or in combination.

The assessment of group-relevant aspects of personality in terms of fight, flight, pairing, and dependency. Bion described individuals as possessing certain valencies for combining with certain other members to act in the various emotional cultures. It would follow that each individual has differentiated preferences for participating with others who express the various emotional modalities, and that he himself has predispositions to express these modalities in overt action. These differentiated preferences would constitute the individual's valency pattern, and would throw light on his expressive behavior and his relationships with other members.

In its most simple terms, an individual who has a strong valency for fight tends to express hostility freely in the group; a strong valency for pairing indicates a tendency to express warmth freely and to wish to establish close relationships with others; a strong valency for dependency indicates a tendency to rely on others for support and direction; and a strong valency for flight indicates a tendency to avoid, in some way, the interactive situation. Every person possesses some valency, in varying degrees, for each of these emotional modalities. Such tendencies reside in the individual and form part of an habitual or stable approach to group interaction.

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[2] This is emphasized because the concepts described here do not pretend to constitute a comprehensive or deep-level approach to personality. They do seem to offer a way of identifying and organizing those personal characteristics which are most directly relevant to the individual's operation in a group.

[3] See Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation,* Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954. A manual for the behavioral rating procedure appears in Chapter 3.

Ben-Zeev's study, reported in Chapter 4, deals with valency in these most simple terms. It was his findings, in part, which led us to differentiate further the concept of valency into the three elements described below. Ben-Zeev deals with the aspect of valency that we later came to refer to as "affective approach."

In applying this idea of valency pattern to a characterization of a specific individual, we find that valencies for fight, flight, pairing, and dependency are often very complexly related. (For example, an individual may pair in order to satisfy dependency needs; or he may take refuge in flight because he is so concerned about his own impulses to fight.) In order to help deal with these complexities it has seemed to us that valency—as an organized set of emotional predispositions residing in the individual—can profitably be differentiated into three related but distinguishable elements: area of concern, culture preference, and affective approach.

Area of concern is the most basic of these, yet it is most elusive and most difficult to observe directly. By area of concern we mean an affect-laden problem that, on some internal, possibly unconscious, level is felt to be significant by the individual and mobilizes his psychic energies. For example, a certain group member may be particularly sensitive to problems concerning dependency—any problem of relating to an authority figure lies within this area of concern. Another member's particular sensitivities may lie in the area of pairing—establishing close relationships with others; another may be concerned with handling his own hostility. Additional areas of concern may be important for other members. Clues to these basic or underlying concerns *may* be found in the person's behavior—either directly or as a break in his more typical pattern. But oftentimes the underlying concern is so deeply hidden or so well defended that behavioral clues are obscured. For the moment, however, let us assume that such areas of concern do exist for many individuals. In some cases they correspond somewhat to the emotional categories we have used in defining the group culture; in other cases these concerns either emphasize some one aspect of these emotionalities, cut across our categories, or fall outside them entirely.

Culture preference refers to the fact that a group member seems to prefer certain work-emotionality cultures to others. This preference may be indicated in a number of ways. He is more comfortable, more free, more relevant, more spontaneously and less compulsively active, more able to work in certain specific group-cultural environments. Some persons may express this preference directly ("I don't like it when everyone is fighting." "Why do we always have to ask the leader what to do next?"); while in other cases the preference must be inferred. The individual may or may not be aware of his own preferences.

Affective approach refers to the ways in which the individual responds expressively to the various group cultures: that is, the ways in which he behaves and does not behave. To illustrate, a certain individual may typically express fight more readily than any other affect, but when the group as a whole is in a dependency culture, he is likely to flight. He may find it easiest to express warmth toward individuals who are themselves rather withdrawn. Such a pattern can become complex, but when it is thoroughly defined for an individual it can provide a comprehensive picture of his affective approach under a variety of conditions in the group.

These three aspects of total valency pattern may, for different individuals, be related to each other in a variety of ways. For some persons the same emotionality may be dominant in all three aspects. For example, the area of concern may be dependency—that is, the individual is most alerted to dependency conditions. He is ambivalent and anxious about accepting or rejecting dependency, and he puts proportionately more of his energies into this area. At the same time he is most comfortable when the group as a whole is in a dependency state—that is, when the responsibility for group activity lies in the leader or in some external element. His habitual approach to interaction is one of appeal—a need for external limitation and goal-setting, willingness to comply with the wishes of others, and so on. This kind of uniformity is rare. Usually area of concern involves more conflict than this would imply, and the other two aspects of valency pattern are likely to be organized at least partially as a defense. There always will be a relationship among the three such that each becomes understandable in terms of the others, but the particular relationship will be unique for each person. The total pattern may vary in the specificity of the area of concern, the extent of conflict, the character and degree of organization of the defense, and the person's awareness of his own pattern.

Delineating a group member's valency pattern does not provide a complete picture of the individual's personality structure. It does, however, define in an organized way those aspects of personality particularly relevant to operating in group settings.

A sentence completion test known as "The Reactions to Group Situations Test"[4] was developed at the Human Dynamics Laboratory as a device for identifying the valency patterns of individuals. In general, this test presents the subject with a series of incomplete sentences, each one suggesting some group situation. These situations were carefully designed to represent a variety of work-emotionality cultures as well as some less-defined situations. The subject's responses can be scored for acceptance or nonacceptance of the culture presented, for overt and covert affective responses, and for the degree of activity represented in the response. An analysis of the test protocol provides information about the individual's valency pattern: his affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern.

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[4] *Ibid.* Chapter 7 is a manual for the RGST, Chapter 8 illustrates its use through a case study, and Chapter 9 presents the results of a validity study.

Affective approach can be directly tabulated from the scored responses. The frequency of fight, dependency, pairing, flight, counterdependency, and work responses to a series of fight, dependency, pairing, flight, counterdependency and work stimulus items gives a basis for generalization about the individual's typical affective response to group situations. The pattern of expected affective approach derived from the RGST can be checked directly against the individual's observed behavior in the group.

An individual's culture preference can be determined from the RGST by noting the character of the affect—positive or negative—with which the individual responds to the various emotional stimuli. When completions such as "was pleased" or, conversely, "felt tense" begin to pile up as responses to specific emotional situations, a clear-cut preference or rejection can easily be identified. Most protocols are not so unequivocally interpretable: for most individuals the judgment required is more subtle, and many persons show some preferences for several basic assumptions.

The identification of the major area or areas of concern for the individual involves making an over-all clinical judgment based on the entire protocol. First, the judgment is made that the individual is concerned or anxious—not merely responsive—about some emotionalized problem; and second, the diagnostic interpretation is made of the factors in the test that consistently evoke the anxiety response. No formula can be offered for judging anxiety in a response. The possible kinds of responses cover a wide range, and no one kind is necessarily indicative for a particular person. Some indications of area of concern are: excessively rigid or stereotyped responses to a particular stimulus category, ambivalent responses, continued blocking, misperceiving the stimulus, and distancing one's responses from the stimulus.

In Chapter 4 an experimental study compares valency characteristics of members with observed individual behavior in the group. The study reported in Chapter 5 relates affective approach to members' perceptions of themselves and of the group as a whole. The case study presented in Chapter 6 is an attempt to test our elaborations of the concept of valency by applying them to the analysis of a single individual.

CHAPTER IV

Comparison of Diagnosed Behavioral Tendencies with Actual Behavior[1]

This study investigates the extent of the relationship between individual valency pattern and observed behavior in the group. Individual valency pattern is obtained from scores on a projective sentence completion test—"The Reactions to Group Situations Test" (RGST). The behavior was observed in a training group. This research represents an early effort to explore the idea that valency describes behavioral predispositions. At the time the study was made, we had not yet analyzed valency into its three components, and this study should be regarded as a preliminary investigation that reveals clearly the need for just the distinctions that were later made. On the whole, this study deals primarily with that component of valency that we have since called the affective approach of the individual.

The simplest possible prediction is based on the notion that valency patterns denote generalized behavioral tendencies. Thus, one would predict that individuals will show the same work-emotionality pattern in two situations: (1) the RGST, and (2) group interaction.

The hypotheses of this study are:

Hypothesis 1: Members will respond the same way to the same stimulus modalities regardless of whether the stimulus is presented in items of the RGST or as a general temporary culture in the group. Two opposite notions are invoked here. The first notion is that some individual dynamic reactions will be so habitual or intense that the situation makes little difference. For example, if I am attacked, I counterattack, and it makes no difference whether the attack is presented as a written test item or as a generally hostile or fighty social environment. The second notion is that the individual will be largely affected by the situation and will distinguish among situations. I may counterattack in response to a direct personal attack in the group, but not in response to a written test item. Experimentation would, we hoped, show which of these alternatives better fits the data.

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[1] This study was conducted by Saul Ben-Zeev.

To test this hypothesis, periods were identified during which the group was operating in each of the modalities. These periods are "natural units." Then the responses of the members to these group modalities were compared with their responses to the stimulus modalities of the RGST.

Hypothesis 2: Situational variations make a great deal of difference to some persons but not to others. This would suggest personality differences with respect to control of emotional impulses.

Hypothesis 3: Situational differences affect some modalities more than others. Thus, work in both situations might tend to be responded to with work; whereas fight might be responded to with fight on the RGST but with work in the actual, live situation. Such a finding would suggest the existence of group standards against fight, regardless of the various emotional modalities in which the group operated.

Hypothesis 4: Persons tend to become active when stimulated by the same modalities regardless of the situation. This is like Hypothesis 1, but is less exacting. The prediction here is only that individuals will respond to the same pattern of stimuli in both situations, but not that they will respond in the same way (that is, with the same modalities). This is actually a check of the preferred-culture component of valency.

Procedure: In order to test these hypotheses the sixteen members of a single training group were studied. It was necessary (1) to identify the predominant emotionality and work characteristics of each natural unit of group interaction; (2) to identify the kind of behavior expressed by each member in each type of natural unit; and (3) to identify each member's valency characteristics and represent these in a form comparable with the behavioral data. With the behavioral and valency characteristics of each individual identified in this way, it was possible to make comparisons between valency characteristics as determined from the RGST and actual behavior in a group situation. Each of these steps will be considered in turn.

1. *The identification of the predominant work and emotionality characteristics of each natural unit*

The training group met for thirteen two-hour sessions. The behavioral sample for this study includes sequences ranging from 19 to 114 minutes in duration, taken from each of the meetings. The Behavioral Rating System[2] was applied to the sample; in addition, the code number of each speaker was noted in order during each minute. From the information about speakers, the rated sequences were unitized according to the procedure developed by Saul Ben-Zeev.[3] This procedure involves identification of points at which clear shifts occur in the participation pattern. At these turning points, certain members who have been participating drop out of active discussion and certain others enter. Such points mark off a series of units of varying length. Each unit is homogeneous with respect to the particular subgroup participating and is different in this respect from the units preceding and following it.

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[2] By this means, each statement made during the sample was rated for (1) the quality of the work (along a four-point scale), and (2) the kind of affect expressed (fight, flight, pairing, or dependency). For a more detailed description of this procedure, see pp. 193–94.

Application of this procedure to the behavioral sample resulted in the identification of 137 natural units.

The next task was to characterize the units of group interaction in terms of work and emotionality. Here two alternatives present themselves. The first requires making an interpretative judgment of the underlying basic assumption on which the group is operating (page 13). The second requires the identification of the affect most predominantly or typically expressed. The first alternative thus involves assessing an emotional need of the group-as-a-whole; the second involves measuring behavioral reactions to that underlying need. The period of time during which a particular basic assumption is in force is likely to be long enough to include a number of natural units, so that the first alternative would result in the same characterization of several units in a row. The natural unit, in other words, is *not* equivalent to a cultural phase, as Bion originally formulated this concept. Rather, it may be viewed as a specific affective reaction to the general work-emotionality culture. For these reasons it seemed appropriate to identify the natural unit in terms of the affect expressed within it rather than in terms of a more global basic assumption.

Each statement was rated for the quality of work expressed (in terms of four categories) and the character of the emotionality expressed (pairing, fight, flight, dependency, some combination of these, or no affect).

Frequency counts were made of each kind of emotionality expressed in each natural unit:

Natural Unit	*Emotional Modality*				
	F	*Fl*	*P*	*D*	o
1					
2					
3					
•					
•					
•					
137					

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[3] Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *op. cit.* Chapter 5 is a manual describing this procedure.

By this means the total amount of fight, flight, pairing, and dependency expressed over all natural units could be determined and from this the proportion of each modality could be computed. This proportion, calculated over all the units, is the most likely chance estimate for each unit. Modalities appearing significantly more often than expected by chance could be considered modal or most characteristic of the unit. The critical point of significant occurrence beyond chance for each modality was defined as the average proportion plus 2.33 sigma. This meant that only one out of every 100 units would show this high a proportion by chance alone. Each modality had a different critical point: for fight the critical proportion was .31; for pairing it was .08; for flight and dependency it was .10; and for zero emotion it was .72.

Of the total population of 137 natural units, 101 units could be characterized in terms of a single modality; 26 units could be characterized in terms of two modalities; 6 in terms of 3; none in terms of 4; and 4 could be described as random units. In terms of the various modalities, fight was significantly high in 44 of the units, pairing in 27, flight in 26, dependency in 29, and none of these in 45.

2. *The identification of the kind of behavior expressed by each member in each kind of natural unit*

By means of the behavioral rating system each statement had been rated for the expression of fight, flight, pairing, dependency, or no affect. And, since the emotional characteristics of each natural unit also were known, it was possible to construct the following behavioral matrix for each group member:

Behavior			*Situation (unit)*				*Total*
	F	*Fl*	*P*	*D*	0	*Random*	
F							
Fl							
P							
D							
0							
Total							

The cells indicate the frequency with which the member expressed fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and no affect in different kinds of emotional units. The sums of the columns represent the member's total participation in the units, while the sums of the rows indicate the number of times the member expressed each modality.

3. *The identification of each member's valency characteristics (from "The Reactions to Group Situations Test")*

The RGST was administered to all members during the first session of the training group. This test consists of 44 incomplete sentences, 28 of which are keyed to a specific emotional modality (F, Fl, P or D) or to work.[4] The test items may be scored on three dimensions: acceptance or nonacceptance of the stimulus item; the modality introduced overtly or covertly into the response; and the manner of response (feeling, action, inhibited action, and ideation). A characterization of the individual's valency pattern may be drawn from the score pattern and/or from a clinical evaluation of the content of the protocol. For the purposes of this study only the 28 items which were keyed to a specific modality were used.

In the RGST the modality represented in the stimulus item is analogous to "situation" (unit) and the response to the stimulus item is analogous to "behavior." It was therefore possible to establish the following valency matrix for each member:[5]

Behavior (response to stimulus)	*Situation (stimulus on test)*				
	F	*Fl*	*P*	*D*	*W*
F					
Fl					
P					
D					
W					

In this matrix a figure appearing in, for example, cell behavior—F, stimulus—P indicates the number of times the member responded to pairing stimuli with fight, either overtly or covertly. Figures appearing in the diagonal cells indicate the number of times the member simply accepted the modality presented in the stimulus item. The frequencies were adjusted so as to give greater weight to responses expressed in the form of action rather than feeling or ideation. The frequencies in the valency matrices were necessarily small, since there are only five or six stimulus items keyed to each modality. However, considerable variation was found from member to member, and it is clear that such a matrix does distinguish among individuals.

4. *Comparing the behavioral and valency matrices*

In comparing the behavioral and valency matrices the following factors had to be taken into account: (1) differences in total participation among individuals; and (2) cultural influences or rating artifacts which might favor one modality over another. For example, in scoring the RGST and in rating observed behavior, raters might have found it easier to perceive fight than any other modality.

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[4] A more detailed description of this test is presented on pp. 50–56.

[5] The scores contained in the valency matrices represent the combined scores of three independent raters.

In order to make all individuals equivalent, the frequencies in the cells were transformed into proportions of their total participation. These proportions were further transformed into standard scores, calculated from the means of the total group for each cell. In order to avoid negative numbers a constant was added to all cells. The resultant figure is referred to as an "adjusted standard score." This procedure was applied in the same way to both types of matrix.

It will be seen that the resulting matrices for behavior and for valency pattern are not exactly equivalent. There is no random category for the valency matrix. The 0 category in the behavioral matrix and the work category in the valency matrix are considered to correspond, since 0 means that no emotionality emerges significantly—in other words, that work is dominant over emotionality.

Thus for each individual the twenty-five cells in the valency matrix could be compared directly with twenty-five of the thirty cells in the behavioral matrix. Since there was a total of sixteen members, an over-all comparison between behavior and valency could be made on the basis of four hundred cells.

5. *The test of the hypotheses*

a. *Hypothesis 1:* The over-all correlation between responses in the two situations was found to be .13, significant at the .01 level. This correlation indicates that a definite relationship exists between the two variables, but that prediction in the case of specific individuals cannot be made. In view of the fact that cultural influences have been removed by the process of transforming frequencies into adjusted standard scores, this test of the relationship between the two matrices is highly rigorous, and the resulting estimate of the relationship is extremely conservative. Had the above factors not been removed, the correlation would have been .49.

b. *Hypothesis 2:* One kind of relationship contained in the over-all correlation was the correlation between behavior and valency pattern for each individual taken separately. Accordingly, a correlation coefficient was computed for each member. (16 members; in each case $N = 25$.) These results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

THE CORRELATION * BETWEEN VALENCY PATTERN AND BEHAVIOR FOR EACH MEMBER OF A SIXTEEN-MEMBER TRAINING GROUP

Member	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*
r	**.48**	–.07	–.13	.14	.14	.21	–.24	–.09	.26	.32	.30	–.01	.13	**.42**	–.07	**.52**

* Correlations above .39 are significant at the .05 level and are in bold type. These results show that considerable variation existed from individual to individual in the extent of the relationship between valency pattern and behavior. Members 16 and 1, two of the members with the highest correlations, were the leader and associate leader of the group.

c. *Hypothesis 3:* A second kind of relationship contained in the over-all correlation was the correlation between the expression of specific modalities in behavior (the rows of the behavioral matrix) and the expression of specific modalities on the RGST (the rows of the valency matrix). It was possible that this relationship might vary for fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and work. In other words, there might be a better correspondence for some rows of the matrices than for others, irrespective of the specific member involved. When these correlation coefficients were computed, only the correlation for work was found to be significant ($r = .27$, significant at the .02 level).

d. *Hypothesis 4:* A third kind of relationship contained in the over-all correlation was the correspondence between participation in certain work-emotionality situations (the columns of the behavioral matrix) and the number of affective responses to the situations presented in the RGST (the columns of the valency matrix). This relationship, too, might vary for fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and work. In other words, there might be a better correspondence for some columns of the matrices than for others, irrespective of the specific member involved. When these correlation coefficients were computed, significant r's were found for fight ($r = .26$, significant at the .03 level), and for pairing ($r = .20$, significant at the .06 level).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to relate, for each of 16 members, valency pattern as derived from a score summary of "The Reactions to Group Situations Test" and behavior as expressed during the thirteen meetings of a training group. In the theoretical introduction to this section, the idea was developed that individual behavior in the group is the product of the interaction of two factors: individual valency pattern and total group culture. This study deals with the relationship between valency pattern and behavior and deliberately disregards the influence of the group culture as a whole. The results show a significant but low relationship existing between these two variables. That is, although one can say that a general relationship exists between valency pattern and behavior, the results indicate that behavior of one individual in the training-group situation cannot be predicted directly from valency pattern (defined in terms of the RGST score pattern) and that valency pattern cannot be specifically predicted from behavior (Hypothesis 1).

It was also found that the relationship between valency pattern and behavior is greater for some persons than for others (Hypothesis 2).

These findings are about what one would expect when one considers cultural influences that might also be operating. The fact that there are differences in this relationship from person to person may be accounted for by the possibility that the group culture as a whole permitted the free expression of certain kinds of valency patterns and inhibited the expression of others. In other words, the culture was more congenial to some members than to others. The fact that the leader and associate leader are among those for whom there is a significant relationship between valency pattern and behavior lends interest to this possibility, since it is not unreasonable to suppose that these two might have influenced the total group culture more than others.

As an over-all tendency, we would expect that work would be least suppressed and emotionality most suppressed. This expectation is supported by the findings relating to Hypothesis 3. It was found that there was a greater correspondence between the expression of work on the RGST and the expression of work in the group situation than between similar expressions of the emotional modalities.

Although there may be a tendency for individuals to suppress the *expression* of affect in the group, affective situations do appear to elicit participation in ways consistent with participation in the RGST, particularly with respect to fight and pairing (Hypothesis 4).

In reviewing the findings of this study, one suggestion is that in order to relate valency pattern more adequately to behavior it may be necessary in some cases to make a more clinical evaluation of the relationship among the various modalities rather than to rely on score totals alone.

Another possibility is that the relationship between valency pattern and behavior may vary at different times in the life of a group. In this study the behavioral data were taken from thirteen successive meetings—the entire life of the training group. Possibly individual members were more likely to translate their own valencies into behavior at the beginning of the group experience, when the group-as-a-whole was struggling to develop an identity and a set of standards by which it could operate. As these standards became established it is possible they exerted a greater and greater influence on individual expressions. In order to check this suggestion it would be necessary to compare behavioral samples from early and late meetings with valency pattern.

CHAPTER V

The Relation of Diagnosed Behavioral Tendencies to Member Perceptions of Self and of the Group[1]

EACH PERSON, because of his unique needs and interests, can be expected to be more sensitive to certain aspects of a group's operation than to others. A member who is concerned about authority relationships, for example, may be particularly sensitive to attacks on the leader, to attempts on the part of other members to assume leadership, and to the leader's opinion of him. He may at the same time be relatively insensitive to flights into jocularity, expressions of warmth between members, and the efficiency with which the group accomplishes its task.

In our terms, we would expect individuals having different valency patterns to perceive and respond in characteristic ways to certain aspects of the group. This study investigates the hypothesis that the characteristic affective approach of the individual is related to the ways he perceives both his own role and the character of the group-as-a-whole. It investigates the following questions:

I. *How do the members, in general, tend to perceive their own roles and the group-as-a-whole?*
II. *What are the major differences among affective approach types with respect to their perceptions of their own role and of the group-as-a-whole?*
III. *Does the composition of the group influence these perceptions?*
IV. *Do an individual's perceptions of his own role and of the total group change from meeting to meeting?*

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[1] This study was conducted by Morton A. Lieberman.

These questions were investigated through comparisons between experimentally composed training groups. The affective approach of each participant was determined by analyzing his "Reactions to Group Situations Test" protocol. Each member's perceptions of his personal role and of the work-emotionality characteristics of the total group were obtained after each meeting from a Postmeeting Reaction Questionnaire.[2]

We will first indicate the procedures for identifying affective approach and for measuring perceptions of self and group. Following this, the results will be shown and the questions listed above will be discussed.

The identification of each person's affective approach and the composition of the experimental groups.

The RGST was administered to approximately 120 subjects about two months before they participated in a three-week training program offered by the National Training Laboratory in Group Development during the summer of 1954. The RGST protocols were analyzed and those subjects were selected who showed relatively clear-cut predispositions to express a single one of the following modalities: fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and counterdependency.[3] These subjects were assigned to two training groups in the following way:

Table 2

THE VALENCY SUBTYPE COMPOSITION OF TWO EXPERIMENTALLY COMPOSED TRAINING GROUPS

	Number of members	
Affective approach	*Group I*	*Group II*
Fight	3	2
Flight	5	4
Dependency	4	2
Counterdependency	4	3
Pairing	0	4

The two groups thus differed in their composition in two major ways: (1) Group II included pairing members while Group I did not, and (2) Group II therefore included a wider range of affective approach types.

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[2] A copy of this questionnaire appears in Appendix A, Part 1. The questionnaire was devised by Ida Gradolph.

[3] Any individual, of course, possesses some valency for all modalities. In this study when an individual is referred to as a fight person we mean that the RGST indicates clearly that he expresses fight more freely and readily than any other emotional modality. Selecting subjects in this way means that certain kinds of individuals are eliminated from the study: persons who show an equal readiness to express several modalities, and conflicted persons who express both aspects of a single dimension (for example, dependency and counterdependency).

Both groups met for a total of fifteen daily two-hour sessions. In addition to the members noted above, a training leader and training associate were present at all meetings. The purposes of the group were to provide opportunities, through free discussion and analysis of the group process, for the members to learn more about group interaction and about their own roles in group situations.

Members' daily perceptions of their own roles and of the character of the total group.

At the close of each meeting all members responded to a Postmeeting Reaction Questionnaire. Two features of the questionnaire are relevant to the present study: (1) the member was presented with ten statements describing possible aspects of member roles. He was asked to rank these statements in order, from "most like myself during this meeting" (Rank 1) to "least like myself" (Rank 10); (2) the member was presented with ten statements characterizing possible aspects of the group as a whole. He was asked to rank these statements in order from "most like the group during this meeting" (Rank 1) to "least like the group" (Rank 10). Each descriptive statement was keyed to a particular emotional modality and both sets of statements represented the same modalities. Table 3 shows the design of the statements.

It will be noted that each of the "basic" modalities has been subdivided to make possible more precise characterizations. This was done in order to eliminate some of the ambiguities encountered in earlier efforts at interpretation. It was felt, for example, that it might be useful to differentiate politeness from genuine warmth. Similarly, withdrawal and irrelevance were differentiated within flight; and hostility and aggressiveness were identified as two categories within fight. Task work and process work were also distinguished.

Each member's daily responses to "my role" and "what the group was like" questionnaires constituted the basic data for this study. In discussing the findings, each of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter will be discussed in turn. In every case we will first indicate any additional statistical procedures employed and then relate the findings to the questions.

I. *How do the members, in general, tend to perceive their own roles and the group-as-a-whole?*

In beginning to examine the data it became clear that the members tended to describe their own roles and the total group in much the same way, regardless of their affective approach type or of the particular meeting to

Table 3

STATEMENTS DESCRIBING PERSONAL ROLE AND TOTAL GROUP CHARACTERISTICS, AND THE MODALITY TO WHICH EACH IS KEYED

Modality	*Item*	*"My role"*	*Item*	*"What the group was like"*
Pairing	A	I was especially warm and friendly toward one or two members.	A	There was much warmth and friendliness.
Superficial pairing	F	I was polite to all the members.	H	The members were being very polite to each other.
Flight—withdrawal	B	I did not participate much.	C	People were uninterested and uninvolved.
Flight—irrelevance	G	My suggestions were frequently off the point.	F	Much of the conversation was irrelevant and tangential.
Fight—hostility	I	I was irritated.	I	There was a lot of underlying irritation.
Fight—aggression	J	I was eager and aggressive.	B	There was a lot of aggressive behavior.
Dependency	H	I was a follower.	E	We were in need of help.
Counter-dependency	E	I took over the leadership.	D	People tried to dominate and take over the meeting.
Work—task	C	I concentrated on the job.	G	We were strictly task-oriented.
Work—process	D	I tried to get everyone involved in the task.	J	We worked on our process problems.

which they were referring. A prior task, then, was to identify the nature of these commonly held perceptions. Table 4 shows the over-all rank order (that is, all members combined) of the statements descriptive of personal role and the statements descriptive of the total group, for Groups I and II.

It will be seen from Table 4 that Groups I and II are almost identical with respect to the over-all perceptions of own role. There is a general tendency for members to describe themselves as warm, friendly, and work-oriented with respect to task. There is an over-all tendency to resist describing themselves as hostile or irrelevant. These perceptions constitute a picture of a constructive group member: one who is friendly, who is not hostile, and who sticks to the task. Apparently there was a general bias in the direction of describing oneself in these favorable terms.

Turning to perceptions of what the group was like, we find a similar though less marked tendency for the two groups to be perceived in the same way. Both groups are seen as warm and friendly and as working on both task and process problems. Here, the resistance is to seeing the

Table 4

Rank Order of Perceptions of Personal Role and of Total Group for All Members Combined, Groups I and II

	My role		*What the group was like*	
Descriptive category	*Group I*	*Group II*	*Group I*	*Group II*
Work—task	1	1	4	4
Superficial pairing	2	2	3	3
Pairing	3	3	2	1
Flight—withdrawal	4	4	10	10
Work—process	5	6	1	2
Fight—aggression	6	5	6	6
Dependency	7	7	9	8
Counterdependency	8	8	8	7
Fight—hostility	9	9	7	5
Flight—irrelevance	10	10	5	9

group as uninvolved (flight—withdrawal). It is interesting to notice that pairing is ascribed to both the self and the group, while uninvolvement or withdrawal is accepted as a personal characteristic but not as a characteristic of the total group. This difference is consistent with the view that the most fundamental need of any group is to continue to exist. The fact that uninvolvement in the group as a whole would seriously threaten the group's existence may account for the strong resistance against describing the group in these terms.

There is, of course, the possibility that these perceptions are accurate descriptions of the groups: both groups really were warm and friendly. In order to check this point, the members' over-all perceptions were compared with observers' ratings[4] of group interaction. Ratings were made of the group interaction by nonparticipant observers, who assessed the emotional content of each statement made in the group in terms of the following categories: fight, flight—withdrawal, flight—irrelevance, dependency, counterdependency, pairing, and superficial pairing. For Group I, a 310-minute sample over 6 meetings was rated; for Group II a 308-minute sample over 6 meetings was rated. The results are shown in Table 5.

It will be seen that although both groups described themselves as high in pairing, this modality appeared in the observer's ratings only 15 per cent of the time in Group I and 31 per cent of the time in Group II. Fight, which appeared more often than pairing in Group I, and as often in Group II, is not seen as characteristic of either group. For Group I, flight appeared

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[4] The following observers participated in the data-collection phase of this research: Ida Gradolph, Philip C. Gradolph, Joanne Holden, Morton A. Lieberman, Andrew G. Mathis, and Carole Mathis.

Table 5

FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS DURING A RATED SAMPLE OF GROUP INTERACTION

		F	Fl—w	Fl—i	D	CD	P	SP
Group I								
	N	369	122	26	151	108	138	16
	Per cent	40	13	03	16	12	15	02
Group II								
	N	378	137	42	150	62	363	43
	Per cent	32	12	03	13	05	31	04

as often as pairing, yet flight is denied and pairing is not. Thus, members' descriptions are not consistent with observed characteristics of the groups.

It may also be noted that although the members of both groups described their groups in very similar ways, the behavioral ratings show that the groups were different from each other. Group I, which included no pairing members, expressed about half as much pairing as Group II. That is, although the expression of pairing differed in the two groups, the members' descriptions of the groups are similar.

From the findings noted above, we are inclined to assume that the considerable uniformity between groups with respect to their perceptions of both the group-as-a-whole and own role may be at least partially due to the general acceptance of a culturally stereotyped view of what a good group or a good group member is like.

II. *What are the major differences among affective approach types with respect to their perceptions of their own role and of the group-as-a-whole?*

In order to deal with this question the data were analyzed in two ways: First, the characteristic perceptions of each type were identified by means of a series of analyses of variance. Second, correlational procedures were applied in order to identify two kinds of relationships: (1) the degree of similarity among types; and (2) the relationships between perceptions of own role and of the total group for each type.

A. The procedure for identifying the characteristic perceptions of each affective approach type and the differences between types: as has been pointed out under question 1 above, the members of both groups tended to describe their own roles and the group as a whole in much the same way. This communality of perception can be taken as a kind of central tendency of the group. It seems reasonable, however, to suppose that particular affective approach types will deviate from the central tendency in particular ways.

Table 6 *

The Perceptions of Each Affective Approach Type of Personal Role and Characteristics of the Total Group, Group II

	My role			*What the group was like*		
Descriptive category	*Over-all mean rank*	*Types above group mean*	*Types below group mean*	*Over-all mean rank*	*Types above group mean*	*Types below group mean*
Work—task	1		Fl	4	P, F	D
Superficial pairing	2	CD	D	3	Fl, CD	D
Pairing	3	Fl, D, P	F, CD	1	Fl, CD, P	D, F
Flight—withdrawal	4	F, D, CD	P	10	D	P
Work—process	6	F, CD	D, P	2	D, CD, P	Fl, F
Flight—aggression	5	D		6	F	CD, Fl
Dependency	7			8	P	F, CD
Counterdependency	8	D	CD	7	P, D	CD
Fight—hostility	9	F, D, P	Fl, CD	5	D	Fl, CD
Flight—irrelevance	10	Fl, D	F, P	9	Fl, D	P

* The information presented in Table 6 is summarized from a series of analyses of variance performed on the data. Each descriptive statement was dealt with separately for each of the two training groups, resulting in a total of forty analyses of variance. In each case the two variables were: (1) affective approach type (fight, flight, dependency, and counterdependency for Group I; these plus pairing for Group II); and (2) day (first through fifteenth meetings for both groups). In Appendix A, Part 2, the procedure is described in further detail and the results of the analyses for both groups are presented. It should be noted that the preponderance of significant F Values for the variable type indicates that it is possible to distinguish among affective approach types with respect to their perceptions of self and of the group. These findings justify the separate consideration of each affective approach type.

Table 6 represents the over-all perceptual tendencies of Group II,[5] and then indicates (1) the affective approach types who tend to see each descriptive category as significantly *more* characteristic than does the group as-a-whole; and (2) the affective approach types who tend to see each descriptive category as significantly *less* characteristic than does the group-as-a-whole. To illustrate specifically, the left half of Table 6, Row 1, indicates that the members in general tended to describe themselves as work-oriented with respect to task problems; but the flight members deviated from this general tendency in that they described themselves as being less task-oriented. The right half of Table 6, Row 1, shows that the members in general perceived the group as being task-oriented, but that this characteristic was secondary to pairing and to work process. The pairing and fight members tended to see the group as comparatively *more* task-oriented, while the dependency members saw the group as relatively *less* task-oriented.

B. The procedure for identifying the extent of relationship among types and between perceptions of own role and total group within each type:

1. In order to identify the relationships among affective approach types with respect to their perceptions of their own role and of the group-as-a-whole, the mean-score patterns for every possible pair of affective approach types were correlated. These results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

AFFECTIVE APPROACH CORRELATIONS * BETWEEN TYPES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF OWN ROLE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOTAL GROUP

		Group I					*Group II*				
		Affective Approach Type					*Affective Approach Type*				
Questionnaire		*Fl*	*F*	*D*	*CD*		*Fl*	*F*	*D*	*CD*	*P*
	Fl		**.61**	**.67**	.53	Fl		**.69**	**.70**	**.78**	**.80**
My role	F			**.75**	**.72**	F			**.72**	**.87**	**.87**
	D				.45	D				**.61**	**.85**
						P					**.78**
What the group was like	Fl		**.69**	**.80**	**.69**	Fl		.50	.19	**.87**	–.20
	F			.59	**.81**	F			.02	**.61**	**.78**
	D				.62	D				.33	.32
						P					**.71**

* Correlation coefficients significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; those significant at the .01 level are in bold type.

It will be seen from Table 7 that all affective approach types tend to see themselves and the group in similar ways. As has been pointed out, this presumably reflects commonly accepted stereotypes of what a good group and a good group member are. Yet there are some interesting relationships within this over-all communality. For example, note the very close relationship between pairing members and all other types in Group II with respect to perceptions of personal role. The dependency members of Group II show comparatively little relationship with all other types with respect to perceptions of the total group.

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[5] The results are presented for Group II only. When the perceptual characteristics of the types within the two groups are examined in detail, it is found that corresponding types are very closely related, but that certain subtle differences can be identified. We present the findings for Group II, since this group includes the complete range of affective approach types and may therefore be more representative of training groups in general.

2. A second possible relationship is the extent to which members of a particular modality type tend to see themselves and the group-as-a-whole in the same terms. In order to identify this relationship the mean ranks for own role were correlated with the mean ranks for what the group was like for each affective approach type. These results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

CORRELATIONS * BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF OWN ROLE AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE TOTAL GROUP FOR EACH AFFECTIVE APPROACH TYPE

Affective approach type	*Group I*	*Group II*
Flight	.40	**.76**
Fight	00	**.62**
Dependency	.16	–.39
Counterdependency	.52	**.63**
Pairing		.54

* Correlation coefficients significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; those significant at the .01 level are in bold type.

Table 8 shows that all affective approach types in Group II, *except dependency,* describe the group-as-a-whole in much the same way they describe their own role. The dependency members see themselves as being distinctly unlike the group in general. There is also an over-all difference between Groups I and II: with the exception noted above, Group II members show a greater similarity between their perception of the total group and of their own role.

With this information available, it was possible to characterize each affective approach type in terms of their perceptions of their own role and of the group-as-a-whole. The descriptions that follow are based on the information contained in Tables 6, 7, and 8.

The pairing members see themselves as work-oriented (with respect to task problems), warm, and friendly. Compared with other modality types they accept fight—hostility. They very strongly deny flight behavior—in the form of either irrelevance or withdrawal.

These members see the group-as-a-whole as a moderately warm and friendly place where much work on both task and process problems goes on. They see relatively more dependency and counterdependency than other members and deny both kinds of flight. To summarize: they see the group as work-oriented, friendly, supportive, and sticking to the task.

The counterdependency members see themselves as highly work-oriented (with respect to both task and process problems) and, at the same time, withdrawn. They accept superficial pairing but not pairing, and also reject hostility. They, more than any other type, deny counterdependency.

The group-as-a-whole is seen as warm, friendly, and work-oriented. These members resist describing the group in terms of fight, counterdependency, or dependency.

The counterdependency members' perceptions of their own role and of the total group is, in general, close. There is, however, an interesting difference with respect to pairing: they see much warmth in the total group but not in their own role; superficial pairing is high in both. This relationship suggests that the counterdependent members may have some wish for pairing but have difficulty in expressing it, adopting superficial expressions of pairing as a safe, more ritualistic, substitute.

The relation between the fight, pairing, and counterdependency members is close (r between F and CD and between F and P is .87). The principal similarity among these three groups is their high work orientation and their rejection of flight—irrelevance.

There are some interesting *relationships between the counterdependency and the pairing members.* Although both are highly work-oriented, this characteristic appears to serve different needs. For the pairing members work is activity and involvement and may serve as a defense against noncontact (flight), which is intolerable to them. The counterdependency members, on the other hand, may use work activity as a defense against a concern over dependency-counterdependency, a dimension they consistently deny in their perceptions. While the pairing members can accept pairing as a part of themselves, the counterdependent members can accept only superficial pairing.

The fight members describe themselves as highly work-oriented. They deny pairing and flight—irrelevance.

The group is seen as aggressive and work-oriented. These members resist describing the group as warm, dependent, or concerned with process problems.

The flight members see themselves as very warm. Compared with other members they see flight—irrelevance as relatively more characteristic of themselves and work—task as relatively less characteristic of themselves. This last characteristic should be underscored since they deviate markedly from the other members in this respect.

They see the group-as-a-whole as a warm and friendly place where much irrelevant discussion goes on. They see less work on process problems than do any other members, and resist seeing the group as aggressive or hostile.

The flight members' perception of work as less characteristic and flight as more characteristic is consistent with our expectations about flight members. The resistance against perceiving fight in the group suggests that flight as an affective approach may serve as a defense against hostility. The very strong tendency to see both themselves and the group as warm and friendly may also constitute a defense against a concern over hostility.

The dependency members see themselves as relatively more counterdependent, hostile, and aggressive. They resist seeing themselves as working on process problems.

The group is seen as counterdependent, hostile, withdrawn, and irrelevant. They see the group as working on process rather than task problems, and resist describing the group as warm or friendly.

Their perceptions of the group-as-a-whole are divergent from their perceptions of their own role. (The dependency members are the only ones who actually show a negative correlation between perception of own role and of the group.)

In general, the dependency members present a picture of themselves as strong, aggressive, counterdependent persons who are not afraid to express negative feelings. They tend to deny dependency as being characteristic of themselves. They also seem to reject the group: by resisting describing themselves as work-oriented; by describing the group in "negative" terms; and by seeing the group-as-a-whole as very much unlike themselves. These perceptual characteristics are consistent with an assumption of concern over underlying dependency. The rejection of the group might indicate a resentment due to needs not satisfied. The perception of themselves as aggressive and counterdependent may be a defense against the denied dependency.

There is some *relation between the dependency and flight members.* Both the dependency and the flight members deny work—task and accept flight—irrelevance more than do any of the other members.

It will be seen from the above detailed descriptions that each type is unique in the pattern of its perceptions. In general, the perceptual characteristics of each affective approach type are consistent with theoretical assumptions about the psychological nature of that type.

For example, pairing as an affective approach is defined as a tendency to express warmth and friendliness in the group. The pairing members of this group describe themselves as warm and resist describing themselves as withdrawn. At the same time they exhibit additional characteristics that provide further suggestions as to the meaning of pairing as an affective approach. For example, their willingness to see themselves, at times, as hostile suggests that negative as well as positive affect may be more available to these members than to other types—they are more open in their affect. Their marked denial of flight—either irrelevance or withdrawing—suggests that they are disturbed by lack or loss of contact with others. The expression of pairing, and to some extent hostility, may function to maintain contact needed with others. These characteristics amplify our original and more unidimensional understanding of what is implied by "pairing" as an approach to group interaction.

Some interesting relations also exist *among* affective approach types. For example, the pairing, counterdependency, and fight members are work-oriented and tend to deny flight; the dependency and flight members are not work-oriented and accept flight. All modality types *except* dependency perceive the group-as-a-whole as being very much like themselves.

Certain of the affective approach types may ascribe the same characteristic to themselves, but their total perceptual patterns indicate that the shared characteristic may be used in different ways. For example, both the flight and the pairing members see themselves as high in pairing; but for the pairing members this appears to reflect a need for close involvement with others, while for the flight members pairing may be used as a defense against a concern over hostility. Both fight and dependency members see themselves as high in aggressiveness, but for the dependency members this perception seems to be a kind of reaction formation that permits them to conceal their weakness from themselves. Both the dependency and the counterdependency members deny the modality that was identified from the RGST as being their characteristic affective approach. The dependency members apparently cannot tolerate ascribing weakness or dependency to themselves and instead, see themselves as aggressive and counterdependent; the counterdependency members accept aggressiveness and work-orientedness as part of themselves but deny counterdependence and hostility. In their case, counterdependency appears to be denied because it implies hostility, which is unacceptable to them.

It should be emphasized that the characterizations presented above are specific to Group II. The same kind of description of the affective approach types of Group I would indicate many resemblances but some differences as well. Until this kind of analysis is made of other groups we cannot be certain that the above descriptions are representative in every particular. However, internal evidence (that is, the consistency between perceptual characteristics and assumptions made about the psychological character of the affective approach type) suggests that these descriptions may be generalizable to some degree.

III. *Does the composition of the group influence perceptual characteristics?*

Groups I and II differ in their composition in that Group I includes no members whose most characteristic affective approach is pairing, while Group II includes four such members. In a very general sense, composition does not seem to have had a strong influence on the perceptions of the members: the most general way of perceiving own role and the group-as-a-whole is the same for the two groups (see Table 4). However, in spite of this close *over-all* relationship, the two groups do differ in two significant respects:

A. The counterdependency members of Groups I and II describe their own role in different terms. In Group I the counterdependency members ascribe more pairing to themselves than do any other types; in Group II they ascribe less pairing to themselves than do any other types.[6] A correlation coefficient was computed between the counterdependency members of the two groups (with respect to perception of own role) and was found to be .54. A correlation coefficient computed between the counterdependency members of Group I and the pairing members of Group II was found to be .82. Thus, the counterdependency members of Group I were more like the pairing members of Group II than they were like the counterdependency members of Group II.

In accounting for this finding, it is helpful to recall that the counterdependency members of Group II rejected pairing as a personal characteristic but accepted superficial pairing, and that they saw the group-as-a-whole as warm and friendly. It was suggested earlier that these counterdependency members might have some wish to pair but have difficulty in expressing pairing and express superficial pairing as a substitute. If this is true, it is possible that counterdependency members can express pairing more readily in Group I because of the absence of pairing members—that is, because there is no one in the group likely to respond to pairing behavior on the part of counterdependency members with pressure to become even more intimate. Therefore, the wish to pair can be expressed more freely and with less threat. A second, and not necessarily contradictory, hypothesis is that all groups need to have a certain amount of friendly feeling expressed in order to work together with reasonable effectiveness. In Group I, where no pairing members exist, perhaps the counterdependency members are the ones who are most able to assume this role.

B. The two training groups differ with respect to the extent to which the members see their own role and the character of the group-as-a-whole as similar. The results shown in Table 8 indicate that closer relationships between these two perceptions exist for the members of Group II than for the members of Group I. A tentative hypothesis is offered with respect to this finding: when the groups were composed it was assumed that Group I, because of the more limited number of modality types, would exhibit a more restricted range of experiences and would be more constricted in the variety of affect expressed. If this is true we would expect the members of Group I to have less opportunity to perceive a variety of conditions in the group and therefore to be less likely to show this particular relationship.

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[6] This is shown in Table 44 of Appendix A, part 2, where counterdependency members of Group I are seen to have the highest mean ranks for pairing, and in Table 46, where the counterdependency members of Group II are seen to have the lowest mean ranks for pairing.

IV. Do an individual's perceptions of his own role and of the total group change from meeting to meeting?

Perceptions of personal role tend to be stable from day to day.[7] When describing his own role in terms of the ten descriptive statements available to them, each member tends to fluctuate within rather narrow limits and with respect to only a few modalities. For Group II there are some variations from day to day with respect to flight—withdrawal; for Group I there are some variations for pairing, flight—withdrawal, and aggressive and hostile fight.

Perceptions of what the group is like tend to be less stable from day to day.[8] Members are presumably influenced in their perceptions of the total group by specific and changing events in the group.

Conclusions: There was a general tendency for the members of the two groups studied to describe their own roles in similar ways, in spite of the fact that the members possessed a wide range of personal characteristics as determined from projective data. This common perception consisted of seeing the self as warm and work-oriented and resisted seeing the self as hostile or irrelevant. This perception may represent a stereotyped view of the good group member.

There is a similar tendency for the members of both groups to describe the group-as-a-whole in similar ways, in spite of the fact that behavioral data show some differences between the groups and also some discrepancies between the behavior expressed in the group and the way in which it is described. Again, the group-as-a-whole is described as warm and work-oriented. The most denied characteristic is irrelevancy. This perception may represent a stereotyped view of a good group, with irrelevancy denied because it threatens the group's existence.

When one turns to the perceptual characteristics of particular affective-approach types one finds that each type can be described in terms of a characteristic pattern of perceptions that differs from the commonly held perceptions in more or less subtle ways. The relationship between affective approach and perception is complex but interpretable in terms of assumptions about the psychological meaning of a particular emotional mode as an approach to group interaction. In certain cases the relationship is direct: for example, pairing members see themselves as expressing pairing in the group and see the group-as-a-whole as warm and friendly.[9]

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[7] See generally nonsignificant F values for Column 3, Tables 44 and 46, Appendix A.

[8] See generally significant F values for Column 3, Tables 45 and 47, Appendix A.

In other cases, the relationship is less direct but interpretable. For example, the members whose most characteristic affective approach has been identified as counterdependency actually deny counterdependency as a personal characteristic more than do any other members. But other perceptual characteristics (for example, the acceptance of superficial pairing and rejection of hostility) suggest the counterdependency behavior may be associated with fight for these members, and denied, along with fight, as an unacceptable personal characteristic.

The two groups studied differed in their composition in that Group I included no pairing members. In this group it was found that the counterdependency members perceived themselves as expressing a great deal of pairing in the group. This suggests, as a possible hypothesis, that pairing is a necessary expression in a group, and that when the membership does not include persons who typically express pairing certain other members of the group may assume this function. To become more speculative, and to go beyond the data available in this study, it is possible that each of the emotional modalities has its function in the group and that each is somehow necessary to the adequate functioning of the group.

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[9] It should be noted that this may be an effect of the stereotype.

CHAPTER VI

Components of Valency (Affective Approach, Culture Preference, and Areas of Concern): A Case Study[1]

This case study gives operational definition to the three aspects of valency—affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern—by showing how these theoretical concepts may be applied to the problem of individual diagnosis.

The data for analysis are contained in the protocol of the subject's "The Reactions to Group Situations Test." The analysis is presented in detail in order to demonstrate the diagnostic procedure. The RGST was administered to the subject several months before he participated in the National Training Laboratory in Group Development at Bethel, Maine, Summer, 1954. The character of change in this S, as a result of the training experience (as indicated by comparison of pre- and post-RGST protocols), will be presented in Chapter 19.

The case study is presented in four parts:

A. *The RGST protocol, scoring sheet, and assessment of affective approach from the pattern of scores.*

B. *Derivation of affective approach by means of clinical appraisal of the responses, and hypotheses about culture preference and basic concern.*

C. *A summary of group-relevant aspects of the individual's personality, relating his affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern.*

D. *The relation of part C to other information about this S: change pattern, perception of own role and character of the total group, and sociometric preferences.*

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock.

A. *The RGST protocol, scoring sheet, and assessment of affective approach from pattern of scores.*[2]

RGST protocol:

1. When the group first started, Ned felt *the need for someone to propose an organization and a plan of procedure.*
2. It's more important for the group to *be organized and find out the precise limits of its problem.*
3. Bert felt the leader was *unprepared to start the group off, directing their individual parts in an attack on the problem.*
4. When Jerry was joking, the group *relaxed.*
5. When Abe asked the group's permission to present his idea, Paul *said, "Go ahead and present it."*
6. When the group was bogged down, Ray said, *"Let's take a break for some coffee, and come back in 10 minutes."*
7. When Sam said, "Let's get to the problem," I *felt that his mind must have been on something other than our discussion.*
8. Since Jack liked some members more than others, he *tended to sit near them, and to direct his remarks to them.*
9. When he realized he was angry at Phil, Charles *reddened in a blush and stopped talking.*
10. Sid praised the leader, and Roger *thought to himself of some of the leader's faults in directing the discussion.*
11. When Tom and Mary arrived twenty minutes late, the group *went right on with its discussion, with no acknowledgment of the interruption.*
12. When the group disparaged his idea, Frank *became defensive and argumentative.*
13. When the leader offered to help him, Pete *said he could complete his share of the work.*
14. When several members dropped out of the discussion, Hank *felt that interest was lagging.*
15. When Marvin suggested that the group assess its own resources, we *each mentally began to assess our individual records.*
16. The leader usually *reasserted his authority as chairman when discussion of a particular point lagged or turned to a new subject.*
17. Chuck's detached manner *indicated that his mind had turned to some other subject.*
18. Together John and Fred *produced some detailed clerical work which would be valuable to the entire committee.*
19. When Jim realized quite a few people were taking digs at each other, he *spoke up; expressing that thought, and requested friendly discussion.*
20. When the group just couldn't seem to get ahead, I *again suggested a 10-minute recess for coffee, and then a new approach.*

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[2] The italicized portion of the sentence is the S's completion of the item.

21. When Ed seemed to be daydreaming, Bill *ignored it, but secretly was offended.*
22. Since the group wanted to test the suggested procedure, Milt *asked how?—What are the details of your proposed test?*
23. The leader got mad at the group, and Bob *maintained a silence, as did all the members of the group. The leader was justified.*
24. Dick felt that his role *was not equal to his talents.*
25. When Len turned to me, I *tended to agree. I needed some time to marshal my thoughts and words for an expression.*
26. During the argument, Henry's vehemence caused Earl *to appear to recoil. One could see that he was thinking in a new light.*
27. When the leader changed the subject, Al *felt that the previous subject still required further exchange of views.*
28. When my attention wandered from the discussion, Jim *would notice and by a well-directed remark, rekindle my interest.*
29. When Morris said we needed more information about how we felt, I *tended to agree.*
30. When there was a pause in the group, Stan *would again attempt to turn the discussion to his perennial topic.*
31. When Ben contradicted the leader, I *was neutral.*
32. When Walt and the leader made side remarks to each other, James *apparently wondered what private arrangements existed.*
33. When the group was particularly friendly toward one of its members, Ken *wondered if they had known him as a famous athlete in college.*
34. When Hal felt hostile to the group, he *tended to withdraw and not participate.*
35. When Harry said that we needed help, Martin *said he thought we had talent enough to come up with a solution.*
36. When Jim left the meeting early, we *thought that he was sacrificing the group's work, in favor of his personal interests.*
37. When Ray recommended that the group consider the theoretical aspects of the problem, *I agreed.*
38. Occasionally the group needed *expert advice or guidance to develop ideas whose germ really existed but was unexpressed.*
39. When Mark criticized Fred's idea, I *felt that the exchange would clarify the situation and foster development of the truth.*
40. When it was suggested that the group stick to the job, Glen *said that he felt the group had been doing as much as was reasonable.*
41. When George attacked the group, Bob *defended it.*
42. When the leader offered to help Carl, Joe *admired his ability and readiness to work with each of the members.*
43. When the group pointedly ignored Steve's idea, John *felt that the group needed correction. The idea needed discussion for Steve's sake.*
44. When the group seemed to be breaking up, Nick *felt that the meeting should have been terminated just previously, and that the leader should have sensed it.*

Scoring procedure: The RGST has been constructed so that 28 of the 44 items present the subject with a particular emotional or work situation.

Thus, Items 8, 11, 18, 25, and 33 present pairing situations; Items 9, 12, 19, 26, 34, and 41 present fight situations; Items 3, 13, 20, 27, 35, and 42 present dependency situations; Items 4, 14, 21, 28, 36, and 44 present flight situations, and Items 7, 15, 22, 29, and 37 present work situations. The remaining items either present mixed or ambiguous situations (for example, Items 17 and 30) or do not define a situation (for example Items 1, 2, and 38).

A scoring procedure was devised that permits each of the items keyed to a particular modality to be scored on three dimensions, and the more general items to be scored on two of these:

1. *Accept—nonaccept.* When the response indicates that the S continues to operate in the modality presented in the stimulus, it is scored "accept." (See Nos. 8, 12, etc., in this protocol.) When the response indicates that the S rejects the modality or responds with another modality, the item is scored "nonaccept." (See Nos. 9, 11, 28, etc. in this protocol.) Only the 28 items that present a specific modality are scored on this dimension.

2. *Overt—covert.* When the S introduces in his response a modality other than the one presented in the stimulus, it is noted in the overt or covert columns of the scoring sheet. An overtly introduced modality is expressed directly (see No. 34 for overtly introduced flight; No. 13 for overtly introduced counterdependence). A covertly introduced modality is expressed more indirectly or subtly; the S may not be aware of the feeling. (See No. 11 for covertly introduced fight.)

3. *Manner of response.* This scoring dimension is concerned with the S's mode of responding. A subject may respond with feeling (see Nos. 21, 42); action (see Nos. 8, 19); inhibited action (see No. 9); or ideation (see No. 25). When the response does not provide enough information for such a judgment to be made, it is scored "question mark" (see No. 37).

The scores for this S are recorded on the RGST scoring form shown below. A score summary is then presented that indicates the number of stimulus items of each category accepted, the number of times a modality was introduced, and the manner-of-response pattern.

An estimate of affective approach derived from the score summary. The figures shown in the "total" column of the score summary provide the basis for a general characterization of the individual. From this we see that this S is relatively high in work and fight and relatively low in pairing and dependency. In more precisely assessing the meaning of these totals it is necessary to take into account the extent to which simple acceptance of the modality and overt and covert introduction of the modality contributed to the total score.

The high total score for fight suggests that this person feels considerable hostility. But we also see that a preponderance of the fight responses occur on a covert level. This suggests that much of the hostility may be expressed

REACTIONS TO GROUP SITUATIONS TEST SCORING FORM

Pairing	1 *Accept*	2 *Non-accept*	3 *Covert*	4 *Overt*	5 *Feeling*	6 *Action plus*	7 *Action minus*	8 *Idea-tion*	9 *?*
8	X					X			
11		X	F	W		X			
18	X			W		X			
25	X							X	
33		X	F					X	
Fight									
9		X		E *			X		
12	X					X			
19		X	Fl	W		X			
26		X		W, Fl		X			
34		X		Fl			X		
41	X					X			
Dependency									
3	X	X	D	F, W					
13		X		CD		X			
20		X		Fl, W		X			
27		X	CD	W				X	
35		X	CD	W		X			
42	X			W	X				
Flight									
4	X						X		
14	—	—						X	
21		X		F	X				
28		X		W		X			
36		X		CD				X	
44		X		F, W				X	
Work									
7		X		F, W				X	
15	X							X	
22	X		F	W		X			
29	X								X
37	X								X

* Emotionality.

General	*Covert*	*Overt*	*Fight*	*Action plus*	*Action minus*	*Idea-tion*	*?*
1	D		—	—	—	—	—
2	D						
5	F	CD		X			
6		Fl, W	—	—	—	—	
10		CD				X	
16		D		X			
17		Fl				X	
23		Fl			X	X	
24	F		—	—	—	—	
30		F		X			
31	E	Fl			X		
32	F					X	
38		D					
39	F	W				X	
40		W		X			
43		P, CD	X				

Score summary:

Modality	*Accept*	*Covert*	*Overt*	*Total*	*Fight*	*Action plus*	*Action minus*	*Idea-tion*	*?*
P	3	0	1	4		3		2	
F	2	7	5*	14		4	2		
D	1	3	2	6	1	3		1	
Fl	1	1	6**	8	1	1	1	3	
W	4	—	16	20		1		2	2
CD	—	2	5	7					
E	—	1	1	2					
Mixed items					1	4	2	5	
Total					3	16	5	13	2

* Occurs with work 3 times.
** Occurs with work 3 times.

subtly. When fight occurs overtly it is often associated with work—that is, fight is expressed constructively in the service of the work task. The S's *behavior,* therefore, might not display as much fight as the total score would imply. The combinations of overt work with covert counterdependency, overt counterdependency with covert fight, and overt work with covert fight, all suggest that both work and counterdependency may at times mask an underlying feeling of hostility.

Flight occurs most often with work and in response to fight situations. Work-related flight may be a means of withdrawal from the hostility the subject feels in the environment. Thus we note as a hypothesis that the subject masks the fight within and avoids the fight without: fight is an area of concern. The moderate score for counterdependency must be considered an underestimate of the S's actual counterdependent behavior. (Since there are no counterdependency stimulus items there is less opportunity for counterdependency to appear as a score.) We would expect dependency, which is mostly covert, and pairing and E (generalized emotion), which are infrequent, to be relatively unimportant in this S's overt behavior.

To summarize, we would expect this S to be a highly work-oriented individual who is consistently participant in the task aspects of the group's operation. He experiences considerable hostility but most characteristically expresses fight indirectly and subtly. Flight and counterdependency are often associated with work, and there is some suggestion that flight, counterdependency, and work are used at least partially as a defense against fight. Dependency and pairing are likely to occur infrequently in this S's behavior.

B. *Derivation of affective approach by means of clinical appraisal of the responses and hypotheses about culture preference and basic concern.*

Consecutive reading of the first few responses often leads to rather fruitful hypotheses about the subject's needs and affective approach. In this case, the first three responses all indicate the subject's need for someone else to delimit and structure the situation. The need is not only for a defined goal but for a step-by-step definition of procedure toward the goal. Item 3 suggests that this need for structure is so excessive that the S does not expect the leader to be able to fulfill it. When the opportunity to flight is presented in Item 4 the S accepts it immediately. The first impression, then, is that this is a person with considerable need for external structure who feels it is the leader's role to supply this but at the same time doesn't really expect the leader to be able to do so. Further, this suggested conflict (that is, a need so excessive as to be unlikely to be satisfied) produces tension that the S uses flight to relieve. The S would be likely to behave in a work-oriented way, that is, to urge the group toward defining procedures and goals, and supporting such suggestions from others.

With these impressions to provide a set for interpretation, we now group the items by modality of the stimulus. The following are the responses to the pairing stimulus items:

8 (acc) Since Jack liked some members more than others, he *tended to sit near them, and to direct his remarks to them.*

11 (non) When Tom and Mary arrived 20 minutes late, the group *went right on with its discussion, with no acknowledgement of the interruption.*

18 (acc) Together John and Fred *produced some detailed clerical work which would be valuable to the entire committee.*

25 (acc) When Len turned to me, I *tended to agree. I needed some time to marshal my thoughts and words for an expression.*

33 (non) When the group was particularly friendly toward one of its members, Ken *wondered if they had known him as a famous athlete in college.*

Three of the pairing items are accepted and two are rejected. However, in accepting pairing, the S in every case distances himself in some way from the pairing. In No. 18 John and Fred pair only for the sake of work. In Nos. 8 and 25 the S does not "sit" or "agree" but in both cases only "tended to." The second sentence in the response to No. 25 spells out directly the S's need to distance himself from others. The response to No. 33 is somewhat unusual and suggests a certain suspiciousness on the part of the S: when people are particularly friendly to someone there must be a special explanation for it.

While the S can respond behaviorally to pairing or in pairing situations, he is likely to distance himself from others and to use pairing as an adjunct to work. His affective approach is not one of warmth: he is likely to perceive pairing states in the group as acceptable if they contribute to the work task but as interruptions if they do not. In other words, pairing is not acceptable for its own sake. On the other hand pairing is not an area of conflict or concern. The S simply does not invest much energy in this area. Pairing is not a significant modality for the S.

The following are the responses to the fight items:

9 (non) When he realized he was angry at Phil, Charles *reddened in a blush and stopped talking.*

12 (acc) When the group disparaged his idea, Frank *became defensive and argumentative.*

19 (non) When Jim realized quite a few people were taking digs at each other, he *spoke up; expressing that thought, and requesting friendly discussion.*

26 (non) During the argument, Henry's vehemence caused Earl *to appear to recoil.*

34 (non) When Hal felt hostile to the group, he *tended to withdraw and not participate.*

41 (acc) When George attacked the group, Bob *defended it.*

Of the six fight items, two are accepted and four rejected. Both acceptances are defensive in character. Of the rejections, No. 19 seems fairly direct: as in pairing, the affect is seen as an interruption to work and therefore as something to be repressed. However, the other rejections range from an apparently controlled withdrawal (No. 34) to immobilization (Nos. 9 and 26). In responses such as "tended to withdraw" and "to appear to recoil" there is again indication of the S's need to keep from committing himself directly to any emotional response.

Fight appears to be a feeling with which this S has difficulty. He seems to lose the even keel and control-through-work that he displays in his responses to the pairing items, and instead swings from a rather impulsive "became defensive and argumentative" to an immobilized "reddened in a blush and stopped talking." Behaviorally, then, one would expect this S to be inconsistent in his expression of fight. A fight culture is one that he would not prefer. If one asked him, he would probably say that he dislikes fight because it interferes with getting things done. However, we can infer from his responses that a more basic reason for his dislike of fight is that such situations elicit an inability to deal either with his own hostile feelings or with those of others. This immobilization or loss of control must be particularly disturbing to one whom we have hypothesized needs control so much. Conversely, this suggests that the excessive need for control may be at least partially an attempt to deal with his own feelings of hostility. The impression is that fight is an important area of concern for this S. With respect to culture preference he shows a negative preference for fight situations. With respect to affective approach he attempts to inhibit fight behavior but actually expresses considerable hostility in devious ways.

The following are the responses to the dependency items:

3 (acc & non) Bert felt the leader was *unprepared to start the group off, directing their individual parts in an attack on the problem.*
13 (non) When the leader offered to help him, Pete *said he could complete his share of the work.*
20 (non) When the group just couldn't seem to get ahead, I *again suggested a 10-minute recess for coffee, and then a new approach.*
27 (non) When the leader changed the subject, Al *felt that the previous subject still required further exchange of views.*
35 (non) When Harry said that we needed help, Martin *said he thought we had talent enough to come up with a solution.*
42 (acc) When the leader offered to help Carl, Joe *admired his ability and readiness to work with each of the members.*

Of the six dependency items, four are rejected, one accepted, and one shows both acceptance and rejection. Item 42, while scored "accept," displays considerable evasiveness. No. 3 has already been commented on—it seems to refer to the S's feeling that the leader will fail in providing the desired structure. It also involves some feeling of hostility toward the leader for his failure. However, other responses indicate a resistance toward accepting the leader's help when it is offered directly (Nos. 13 and 35) or a reluctance to comply with the leader's wishes (No. 27). In other words, when this S is confronted directly with a helpful leader he denies that he needs help and refuses to accept it. In the area of dependency-counterdependency there appear these incompatible elements: a need for external structure and control that he expects the leader to provide, yet a denial that he needs the leader's help. It is as if the need for externally supplied control forces him into an intolerable dependent role.

Behaviorally, this S expresses counterdependence. He insists that he and/or the group can handle things themselves. One might also expect him to express resentment toward the leader at times for not supplying sufficient guidance. Dependency, along with fight, appears to be an area of concern for this S. Fight and dependency appear to be related in the following way: the need to control impulses, mainly fight, leads to a wish for the leader to supply structure. This in turn implies a dependency or passivity that the S finds it difficult to admit of himself; hence the overreaction in the direction of counterdependency. If this reconstruction is correct, the concern over dependency is derived from concern over fight. However, in our terms both would be considered areas of concern. The S shows a strong preference for well-structured situations. His affective approach includes many expressions of counterdependency.

The following are the responses to the flight items:

4 (acc) When Jerry was joking the group *relaxed.*
14 (—) When several members dropped out of the discussion, Hank *felt that interest was lagging.*
21 (non) When Ed seemed to be daydreaming, Bill *ignored it, but secretly was offended.*
28 (non) When my attention wandered from the discussion, Jim *would notice and by a well-directed remark rekindle my interest.*
36 (non) When Jim left the meeting early, we *thought that he was sacrificing the group's work in favor of his personal interests.*
44 (non) When the group seemed to be breaking up, Nick *felt that the meeting should have been terminated just previously, and that the leader should have sensed it.*

Of the six flight items, four were rejected, one was accepted, and one (No. 14) could not be scored. In general, this S finds it difficult to accept flight. The suggestion made in the first paragraph that the S will lapse into flight to escape tension is probably not true. Flight may be a temptation, but ordinarily this S will not co-operate in flight—perhaps because it runs counter to his strong need to work. Item 44 supports the earlier impression that this S expects much of the leader; in this case he should have sensed and prevented a process difficulty. Evasiveness again appears in No. 14, where the S merely interprets the stimulus. Internal hostility and resentment are expressed in both Nos. 21 and 36. (This felt but held-in hostility is beginning to be a pattern. It has also occurred in Nos. 11, 33, and 3.)

This S is not likely to express flight very frequently in the group. He may at times quietly go along with a flight culture, but usually he does not like such phases. Although he does not like flight periods he does not really know how to help move the group back into work. He tends to feel resentful toward members who express flight and toward the leader who he feels should be able to prevent such expressions.

The following are the responses to the work items:

7 (non) When Sam said, "Let's get to the problem," I *felt that his mind must have been on something other than our discussion.*

15 (acc) When Marvin suggested that the group assess its own resources, we *each mentally began to assess our individual records.*

22 (acc) Since the group wanted to test the suggested procedure, Milt *asked how? What are the details of your proposed test?*

29 (acc) When Morris said we needed more information about how we felt, I *tended to agree.*

37 (acc) When Ray recommended that the group consider the theoretical aspects of the problem, I *agreed.*

Of the five work items, four are accepted and one is rejected. The S's responses to work indicate a general support of work usually passive and perfunctory in character. In Nos. 29 and 37 he merely agrees; in No. 15 he responds only internally. In No. 22, his only active response, some hostility can be detected and his need for structuring again appears. We have said above that this S has a strong need for work to be accomplished in the group—in our theoretical terms he shows a strong preference for a work culture. However, the responses to the work items suggest that he himself is likely to contribute toward this accomplishment in a routine rather than a creative way.

In the discussion so far, several themes have emerged. A next step is to look over the record as a whole to see how these are supported or tempered by the responses to the more general items. The themes and the responses that support them will merely be listed here, but it is suggested that the reader go back over the responses, since each is subtly different and each contributes to the full picture of the important themes for this S.

We have said that this S finds it difficult to deal with fight (Nos. 9, 23, 31), but feels considerable hostility and resentment that he cannot express overtly (Nos. 7, 11, 21, 24, 30, 32, 36, and possibly 22.) (In contrast, fight is expressed directly only in Nos. 12 and 41.) There is considerable need for structure (Nos. 1, 2) which the S expects the leader to supply (Nos. 3, 10, 16, and possibly 38). The leader can rarely supply the degree of structure this S needs and the S is sometimes resentful toward the leader for not controlling the group (Nos. 3, 10, 44). The S overtly expresses counterdependence (Nos. 13, 27, 35), perhaps as a reaction to this implied dependency. He is often tempted to flight (Nos. 6, 20) but does not do so (Nos. 21, 28, 36). Finally, his responses often indicate distancing (Nos. 8, 25, 26, 29, 34) and evasiveness (Nos. 14, 17), suggesting that in general he finds it difficult to respond directly to affectful situations.

In looking over the record as a whole, several responses seem atypical or especially striking and therefore deserve special attention. These are Nos. 32, 33, and 39. Both 32 and 33 display a certain suspiciousness; a feeling of left-out-ness (No. 32); a feeling that when someone is liked there must be a special reason for it (No. 33). Taken together with No. 24 (Dick felt that his role *was not equal to his talent*), these responses suggest that this S may feel somewhat distant from others and a little resentful of the fact that he is not appreciated as others are. The phrase, "foster development of the truth," in No. 39 also carries a flavor of suspiciousness. In addition it indicates what this S has to do in order to accept fight. He must tone it down by describing it merely as an "exchange" and must further perceive fight as being constructive and work-producing in character.

We have said that fight and dependency appear to be areas of concern for this S. In looking over the fight and dependency patterns in the total record, it seems significant that in responding to specific fight and dependency stimulus items the tendency is to reject them: the S responds to dependency with counterdependency and to fight with flight or work. Yet many items indicate considerable hostility usually held in, but which seeps through as resentment, or very occasionally breaks through directly when the expression of fight seems justified by work. Similarly, although there is a denial of dependency in the items that present dependency situations most directly, many other items indicate more subtly that this S has a strong need for someone other than himself (usually the leader) to provide support and direction. It is as though this S has to deny both fight and dependency when faced with them directly; but both these modalities are so strong in him that they continually overflow in other contexts. This combination of direct denial but indirect expression is one indicant of conflict or concern, and appears to justify considering both fight and dependency as significant areas of concern for this S.

C. *A summary of group-relevant aspects of the individual's personality, relating his affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern.*

Having made both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the record we can now summarize this S in terms of the three aspects of valency: affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern.

Affective approach: This S will most consistently display work and counterdependency in his overt behavior. He will be active in urging the group to keep to the task, to define procedures, etc. His work contributions will be task-oriented rather than process-oriented and will be constructive, but routine rather than creative in character. Counterdependency will be expressed as strength, as an insistance that the group can solve its own problems, and occasionally as fight against the leader.

Fight and dependency will be expressed inconsistently and erratically. Fight will most likely be expressed directly when it can be justified in terms of the work the group is attempting to do. More typically, fight will be expressed more subtly or covertly, for example, by suggesting that others are not sticking to the point, or by expressing irony or resentment. Dependency will be expressed only in a very specialized way—by aggressive demands that the leader supply direction and structure. Generally, this S would give the impression of strength rather than weakness.

Pairing and flight are relatively unimportant for this S. Pairing behavior is not characteristic. The strong emphasis on work precludes much direct expression of flight; when it is expressed it is usually as an adjunct of work.

Culture preference: This S shows a positive preference for work and a negative preference for fight. He most prefers situations in which the group is working in an orderly, predictable way on some work task. His negative preference for fight is much more striking and powerful than his positive preference for work. He is most threatened by a group situation in which hostile feelings are being expressed freely with no obvious limits. A dependency culture can probably not be considered a strong negative preference since his pattern of overt counterdependency provides a fairly adequate defense in this area. In contrast, he has no defenses available against fight except immobilization, which is inadequate, and justification in terms of work, which has limited application. He shows neither strong positive nor strong negative preferences for pairing or flight cultures.

Areas of concern: Both fight and dependency emerge as major areas of concern. With respect to fight, the S experiences considerable hostility but is unable to accept these feelings in himself or to release them adequately or appropriately in behavior. With respect to dependency, the S demands external structuring and control from the leader; yet his need to be strong and a leader himself makes this implied dependency intolerable to him. These two concerns—fight and dependency—appear to be related in the following way: the demand for direction from the leader may be an appeal for an outside person to supply the control over hostile impulses that he himself cannot supply. This is an inadequate solution because the dependent relationship that this appeal involves is intolerable and creates additional conflict. With respect to both these areas of concern, the S has available defenses that are contradictory in their effects and conflict-producing. As an effect of this he maintains an emotional rigidity that inhibits creative, work-process tendencies as well as pairing potentialities, and keeps him operating in a rigidly task-oriented, counterdependent mode.

From the point of view of training, this S needs to find appropriate outlets for his hostile feelings. Presumably this would lessen his need for excessive external control and free him for more spontaneous and constructive group participation. We can speculate that this person would be most helped by a group situation in which fairly wide limits exist for the expression of feeling, but where the leader maintains considerable control and is seen by the members as someone who can be relied on ultimately to protect the group from the excessive expression of feeling and from loss of control. Under such conditions this S might begin to feel free to experiment with the expression of his own (particularly hostile) feelings. If such expression is not followed by disaster he may be encouraged to find more direct and appropriate channels for his negative feelings and thus have less need to express them deviously or to bottle them up. The freer expression of feelings might also lead to a lessened need for external structure. A group situation in which the leader exhibited little control would be likely to threaten this S and lead him to intensify his demands for structure. A leader who exerted very rigid control would not provide needed opportunities for experimentation with the expression of feeling and might in addition arouse anxieties over the S's dependency concerns.

D. *The relation of the S's valency pattern to other characteristics: change pattern, perception of own role and character of the total group, and sociometric preferences.*

A post-RGST protocol was available for this subject and has been analyzed. (See Chapter 18 for a detailed analysis of the changes which took place for this S.) The pre- and post-RGST protocols show considerable consistency, indicating that the RGST does tap stable aspects of personality. Some changes did occur for this S: he expresses both positive and negative feelings more directly and shows less need to distance himself from others and from affectful situations. Fight particularly is expressed more appropriately and less deviously. He shows considerably less need for structure and external control, and is somewhat less concerned over fight and dependency.

In chapters 5 and 15 studies are presented of the group of which this S was a member. As part of these studies a Postmeeting Reaction Questionnaire was administered to all members after each of the group's fifteen meetings. This made available the following additional information about this S: (1) his daily perceptions of his own role; and (2) his daily choices of other members in response to several sociometric questions. We will report here only the S's responses for the first week, since these are presumably most likely to be related to the pre-RGST analyzed in this chapter.

With respect to perceptions of his own role, this S sees himself as friendly, polite, and work-oriented, and resists seeing himself as hostile. This perception is, in fact, shared by most members of the group and seems to represent a kind of stereotyped view of the good group member. However, the S discussed in this chapter rejects hostility as a personal characteristic even more than most members, and accepts politeness more than most members. These perceptual characteristics are consistent with the analysis from the RGST, which indicates that this S is concerned over his fight impulses and attempts to control their expression in the group.

In response to sociometric questions, this S chooses among all affective-approach types *except fight.* Particular choice trends can be identified for two of the five sociometric questions: he tends to indicate pairing members as the ones he agrees with least (three times out of five); and in response to the item "The major spokesman for the group today was ———," he chooses only dependency or counterdependency persons, or the leader.

It would seem that during the early meetings this S may have been particularly attuned to dependency-counterdependency issues. The fact that he rejects pairing members and consistently ignores fight members suggests that the concern with underlying hostile feelings postulated from the RGST is present, but not being dealt with.

In Chapter 19 this S is again discussed, this time from the point of view of changes in valency pattern as indicated by a comparison of his pre- and post-RGST protocols. Certain perceptual changes over the three weeks of the training experience will be discussed at that time in their relation to changes in valency pattern.

Part B

Member Perceptions as a Factor in Subgrouping

CHAPTER VII

Member Perceptions as a Factor in Subgrouping: Introduction

Valency has been defined as an organized system of action tendencies and of preferences for the various work-emotionality cultures. "Valency pattern" includes the individual's characteristic behavioral tendencies in group situations (affective approach); his preferences for acting in fight, flight, dependency, or pairing situations (culture preference); and the affective areas with which he is concerned or conflicted (basic concern).

The concept of valency thus constitutes a way of characterizing certain group-relevant aspects of personality. These implications were considered in Part A. In the four chapters that follow an additional implication of valency will be considered: its influence on the relationships that form among the members of a group.

As originally formulated by Bion, the term "valency" included the notion of combining with other members to develop, maintain, or move away from certain work-emotionality cultures. By "combining," Bion did not mean that members consciously co-operated with one another. Rather, he implied that because of their valency patterns, certain individuals simultaneously may work implicitly toward the same emotional goals. This interpretation of valency suggests a basis for understanding (1) the positive or negative preferences of group members for one another, and (2) subgroup interaction within the total group. Each of these points will be discussed in turn:

1. Implications for sociometric choice. If I, on some level, perceive another member as having similar needs and interests and as working toward establishing group conditions congenial to me, I am likely to feel friendly toward that person. If, on the other hand, I perceive someone else as interfering with my interests in the group and as working to establish group conditions that I find uncongenial, I am likely to dislike that person. To illustrate, an individual who characteristically withdraws from close personal contact with others is likely to prefer others with similar needs, since these members together can meet one another's needs in this respect. The same person is likely to reject those members who are constantly urging the group to become more intimate and reveal more personal material, since these are the members who are, in effect, forcing him to enter into a kind of relationship distasteful to him.

To translate this common-sense illustration into our theoretical terms, we would say that this flight member (who flees intimacy) is likely to prefer other flight members and to reject pairing members. It is possible to imagine other flight members who might reject flight persons as well as pairing persons. This might happen, for example, when the member is so disturbed or conflicted about his own flight needs that he is equally threatened by members who wish to escape close contact with others, since these would keep his conflict in the foreground. Counterdependency members might be expected to reject (rather than accept) one another, since each member can satisfy his own needs to control the group only by competing against others with similar needs.

The general assumption offered here is that members will be likely to prefer others who satisfy their own needs and are likely to reject others who interfere with their needs. The concept of valency pattern is suggested as a convenient way of assessing those personal needs most likely to be operative in a group situation.

Chapters 8, 9, and 10 deal with the relationship between valency characteristics and choice patterns in several different ways: Chapter 8 identifies the most characteristic behavioral tendencies (affective approach) of members and attempts to identify choice patterns associated with these tendencies. Chapter 9 studies the extent to which members who choose one another sociometrically also tend to participate together in the group, and then attempts to explain the relationships found in terms of valency characteristics. Chapter 10 attempts to predict sociometric choice from an assessment (from self-perceptual data) of the individual's valency preferences.

2. *Implications for subgroup operation.* Implied in the concept of valency is the assumption that individuals with similar needs form a special kind of subgroup within the total group. That is, individuals who have in common a need (let us say) for fight are likely to act together to establish conditions in the group that will permit hostile interchanges, aggressive approaches to problem solving, etc. When individuals are aware of such common interests, this awareness may be reflected in sociometric choice, as indicated above. These communalities, however, may influence interaction in the group even when members are not aware of them.

According to this approach, a group can be seen as being made up of a limited number of subgroups, each of which shares certain need characteristics.

A theoretical and practical problem arises as to how these common need characteristics are to be identified. It was felt that self-perceptual data might be appropriate, since perceptions come from the consciousness of the subject and therefore already incorporate and take account of control mechanisms of the individual. In other words, self-perceptions are subject to denial, illusion, and other controls arising from needs for self-maintenance and self-protection. If such data were interpretable, they might bear a close relationship to actual behavior in an interactive group situation.

Each member of a group is expected to possess a more or less organized set of percepts concerning his own feelings and behaviors in a group situation. In any randomly composed group one would expect to find a wide range of self-percepts among the members. Some may see themselves as aggressive, creative leaders, others as relatively withdrawn and detached, others as sober and work-oriented, others as impulsive in expressing their feelings and entering into the group experience. Members having certain self-perceptual elements in common may be regarded as a potential or actual subgroup.

For example, suppose that each of three or four members sees himself as a constructive, work-oriented person who avoids the expression of strong affect because it is inappropriate and interferes with getting things done. These perceptions, then, constitute a self-perceptual core common to several individuals. In addition to the self-perceptual elements held in common each member may hold certain unique self-perceptions, and each may differ in the role his self-perceptions play in the total organization of his personality. (For one individual the self-percept may be based upon an accurate knowledge of his actual behavior and underlying needs. For another, the self-percept may be maintained defensively in order to mask other tendencies less tolerable to him.)

In spite of these possible divergences we expect members who hold in common a certain core of self-perceptions to share (potentially, at least) certain emotional needs that may be inferred from the self-perceptual core. We may expect that they would share the need to maintain and protect their self-perceptual pattern and that they would defend this pattern from perceived onslaughts by other group members. In the example suggested above, we may expect that individuals so characterized would feel most comfortable when they could perceive achievement and movement toward a task goal and when they felt that the work situation was well structured and that the expression of strong feelings would be controlled. These members might or might not consciously sense similar concerns. But in any case we would expect them to act together to establish and maintain group conditions in such a way that they could operate comfortably, without anxiety, and without threat.

When the members of a subtype are described as "acting together" we do not mean that they *consciously* co-operate, or that they are necessarily aware of common needs. We simply mean that because they do share certain needs they can be expected (at least under interactive conditions) to express similar attitudes and to attempt to influence the group toward similar emotionality-work states.

This approach leads to the possibility of viewing the group as an interacting collection of self-perceptual subtypes. The members of each subtype would share certain emotional needs, and the character of the total group operation would be largely determined by the interactions among the self-perceptual subgroups.

When groups are viewed in this way, they may be seen to vary in several ways: a group might be composed of subtypes whose needs are compatible or incompatible with one another. There may be much or little communality among the subtypes. Certain needs and approaches characteristic of a particular subtype may be present in one group and not in another. The designated leader may, by his personal characteristics, reinforce one subtype and not the others. A specific member may be part of the majority subtype in one group and isolated in another. These possibilities illustrate ways in which groups may be differentiated by knowledge of subtype composition. These and other conditions may be useful in accounting for the kinds of learning opportunities the group offers its members, the extent and nature of conflict in the group, and its course of development.

First steps in testing this approach are to see whether or not such subtypes can be identified in a group, and whether the subtypes can be meaningfully related to the behavior and interactions of their members. The study reported in Chapter 11 intensively examines a training group with these ends in view. The study reported in Chapter 22 also makes use of this approach: the developmental characteristics of two training groups are compared and related to the self-perceptual subtype structures of the groups.

CHAPTER VIII

Sociometric Choice Related to Affective Approach[1]

THIS STUDY is closely related to the one presented in Chapter 5. It deals with the same population and, like Chapter 5, investigates the relationships between the most characteristic affective approach of individuals and certain of their perceptions. The perceptions to be investigated in this chapter are interpersonal and are represented by the individuals' sociometric choices.

Sociometric choice is, itself, a complex concept. It usually refers to an individual's likes or dislikes of other persons in a group and is determined by asking questions of each member. But, depending on the way in which the sociometric question is phrased, it may also refer to group members the individual prefers to work with, sees as agreeing with his point of view, and the like. One would not necessarily expect agreement among responses to these various sociometric questions. In this study a range of such questions is asked.

The ways in which an individual perceives other group members—his likes and dislikes—may be the result of a variety of factors ranging perhaps from physical attraction to complex unconscious needs. The present study investigates two of the many possible bases for sociometric choice: the individual's most characteristic affective approach and the total group composition.

Affective approach, as defined in previous chapters, refers to the individual's tendencies to express certain kinds of affect (in our terms: fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and counterdependency) in the group. By most characteristic affective approach we mean that emotional modality likely to be predominant in the individual's behavior. Thus, in our terminology, a fight person is one who is expected (from an analysis of his "Reactions to Group Situations Test") to display aggression and hostility as his most frequent mode of expression. He would be referred to as belonging to a "fight modality type."

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[1] This study was conducted by Morton A. Lieberman.

In the present study, "total group composition" refers to the range of modality types included in the composition of the group.

This study investigates relationships between sociometric choices and (1) the affective approach of individual members, and (2) two kinds of group composition. More specifically, it deals with the following questions:

I. *Is there a tendency for the members of each affective approach type to display characteristic sociometric choice patterns?*

II. *What are the sociometric choice characteristics of each affective approach type?*

III. *How does the composition of the total group influence the choice patterns of specific affective approach types?*

IV. *Do changes occur in sociometric choice through time?*

Design: The members of two experimentally composed training groups were studied. Group I, which included sixteen members, was composed of individuals whose most characteristic affective approach was fight, flight, dependency, or counterdependency. Group II, which included fifteen members, was composed of members of the above affective approach types, plus pairing members.

Each of these groups met for a total of fifteen two-hour sessions, distributed over a period of three weeks. At the end of each meeting, each member was asked the following questions:

1. In this meeting I agreed most with ______. I also agreed with ______. I agreed least with ______.
2. The major spokesman for the group today was ______.
3. I felt closest to ______.
4. I felt farthest from ______.

TREATMENT OF DATA AND RESULTS

Tabulation of original data: The basic data consist of each member's responses to five sociometric questions[2] for each of fifteen meetings. In organizing these data, members *making the choices* were first grouped according to affective approach type. The affective approach type of the persons they *chose* were then identified. Thus, in this study the members are dealt with not as individuals but as types, both with respect to those *choosing* and those *chosen.*

There are thus four major variables:

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[2] Question 1 includes two first-choice responses that were considered separately: agreed most and agreed least. The second positive choice, asked for in the second sentence of Question 1, was not considered in this study.

Group (I and II)
Modality type (fight, flight, pairing, dependency, and counterdependency)
Time (weeks 1, 2, and 3)
Question (agreed most, agreed least, major spokesman, closest to, and farthest from).

The identification of significant choices: If choices were made entirely at random, one could expect fight members, for example, to choose each affective approach type a certain number of times. Choices that might occur by chance alone could not be considered characteristic of the type. It became necessary to identify choice frequencies over and above those that could be expected to occur by chance.

The data presented in Tables 9 through 14 thus do not include all the choices made, but list those types chosen more or less frequently than one would expect if chance alone were operating. Tables 9 and 10 include a summary of all significant data; Tables 11 and 12 and Tables 13 and 14 contain the same data but reorganize them so that they are specifically relevant to certain questions.

Tables 9 and 10: The choices of each type on each sociometric question, for Groups I and II, Weeks 1, 2, and 3, are shown. This information permits one to ascertain whether types tend to choose certain types and not others, in response to these questions, and whether such tendencies might change over time.

In identifying significant choices, chi square could not be used because the expected frequencies were less than 5. Therefore binomial probability[3] was applied to the data. By this means it was possible to identify the types chosen *more often* than would be expected by chance, and the types chosen *less often* than would be expected by chance.

To illustrate the interpretation of these tables, see Table 10, "agreed most" for the dependency members. The lower-case "f" for Week 1 indicates that the dependency members chose fight members less often than one would expect if their choices were distributed randomly. The absence of any upper-case symbol for the first week indicates that the dependency members did not choose any particular modality type over the others. In the second week this picture changes. Here, they agree most with the counterdependency members and tend to underchoose both fight and dependency members. In the third week they again make diffuse choices but tend to underchoose fight and dependency members. An interesting characteristic is that the dependency members tend *not* to choose one another as the members with whom they agree most. The other cells of Tables 9 and 10 are interpreted in an analogous manner.

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[3] *Table of Binomial Distribution,* Army Security Agency, Washington, D.C., 1946.

Tables 11 and 12: In these tables the significant responses of all modality types were combined. The *targets* of the choices, week by week, for Groups I and II are shown. Disregarding the particular members who *make* the choices, it was possible that the modality types *chosen* might vary from question to question and from time to time for the two training groups. Tables 11 and 12 facilitate identifying the targets of the choices, week by week. It was necessary to determine, for each question, whether or not certain modality types received more choices than others. In this case the method of chi square could be applied to the data, since combining the modality types resulted in sufficiently high expected frequencies. Wherever significant chi squares appear in Tables 11 and 12, further information is included that indicates the modality type chosen *more* frequently than would be expected by chance and the modality type chosen *less* frequently than would be expected by chance.

To illustrate the reading of these tables, see Table 11, the "agreed least" responses for the second week. The chi square, significant at the .001 level, indicates that during this week certain modality types were chosen more often than others. The additional symbols (F+ and Fl—) contained in the cell indicate that there was an over-all tendency for all members to "agree least" with fight persons and to disregard flight persons in their responses to this question. This information is taken from the original chi-square computation, not otherwise shown, and refers to the frequency and associated chi square of specific modality types. The remaining cells in Tables 11 and 12 are interpreted in an analogous manner.

Tables 13 and 14: In these tables all the data are combined *except* the modality types chosen on each question. In other words the data as presented in these tables are pertinent to the question: "Which modality types do the members tend to agree most and least with, see as their major spokesman, and feel closest to and farthest from?" Again, the method of chi square was applied to the data. Tables 13 and 14 shows the chi squares for each question for Groups I and II. Whenever the chi square is significant, further information is presented to indicate the modality type or types receiving the most and least choices for that question.

To illustrate, the information contained in Table 13 for "agreed least" shows that members did, in general, tend to agree more with certain modality types than others (chi square = 61.66, significant at the .001 level). The additional information shows that the members agreed least with the fight members of the group, and that the flight members tended to be disregarded in the responses to this question.

*Table 9**

The Choices of Each Affective Approach Type, Week by Week, on Each Sociometric Question, for Group I

Affective approach type	*Week*	*Agreed most*	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*	*Number of significant cells*
Fight	1	FL, CD f, d	**F** fl, cd	FL, CD f, d	CD f	F cd	5
	2		F fl	**CD** fl, d		**F** fl	3
	3		fl	f	FL, CD d	F d	2
Flight	1	D, CD f	cd	**CD** f, d		F fl, cd	3
	2	FL, CD f, d	**F** fl, d, cd	**CD** fl, d	FL f, cd	**F** fl, cd	5
	3	FL, D f		**CD** d	D f, fl	**F** fl, cd	4
Dependency	1		F fl, d	FL, CD f, d		F, CD d	3
	2	D fl	F, CD fl, d	**CD** f, d		**CD** fl	4
	3	D, CD f, fl		F, CD Fl	CD f	F	4
Counter-dependency	1		F cd	Fl f, d	f	D cd	3
	2		**F** fl, cd	CD fl	F cd		3
	3	FL, CD f, d	F, D fl, cd			**F** cd	3

* Upper-case symbols indicate that these types were chosen more frequently that would be expected by chance; lower-case symbols indicate that these types were chosen less frequently than would be expected by chance. Choices in bold type indicate the .001 level of significance. All others are significant at the .10 level.

Table 10

The Choices of Each Affective Approach Type, Week by Week, on Each Sociometric Question, for Group II

Affective approach type	*Week*	*Agreed most*	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*	*Number of significant cells*
Fight	1	FL, CD p	P, D fl	CD f	**Fl** f, d, p	P f, d, cd	5
	2	FL, D p	D f, p	D f	D p, cd	FL, D p	5
	3	cd	D, CD f	Fl f, p		f, p	2
Flight	1	CD fl, p	**P** f, fl, cd	**CD** f, p	**D** fl, p	**P** fl, cd	5
	2	p	fl	D p	D cd, p	D fl	3
	3	FL d	F, CD fl	FL f, p	FL, D p	D fl	5
Dependency	1	f	F cd, d, p	FL f, p	DP f	F d, p	4
	2	CD f, d	F cd, p	FL, CD f, p	CD, P fl, d	d, cd	4
	3	f, d	FL d, p	f, p	D f	**FL** cd, p	3
Counter-dependency	1	D f	P f, fl	D f, p	**D** f	p	4
	2	FL, D f	F, FL d, cd	FL, D f, p	D f, cd	**FL** d, cd, p	5
	3	FL, P f, d	cd	CD f, d	f	FL d, cd	3
Pairing	1	**D** f, fl, cd	F d, p	**D** f, fl, p	**D** f, fl, cd	F, CD fl, d, p	5
	2	**D** f, fl	F, FL d, p	D f	**D** f, fl	FL, CD d, p	5
	3	D fl, p	**FL** d, p	**FL** f, p	fl	**FL** f, fl, cd	4

Discussion of results: The results will be discussed as they are relevant to the questions raised at the beginning of the chapter.

Table 11

TABLE OF CHI SQUARES,* SHOWING CHOICES ON EACH QUESTION, WEEKS 1, 2, AND 3, ALL MEMBERS OF GROUP I COMBINED

Week	*Agreed most*	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*	*No. of significant cells*
1	4.72	**18.50** F+, CD—	**25.42** CD, FI+, F, D—	4.00	6.86	2
2	.91	**91.29** F+, FI—	**29.52** CD+ FI, D—	3.16	**31.34** F+, FI—	3
3	5.93	7.54	5.26	2.74	**43.46** F+, CD—	1

* Three degrees of freedom were used to determine significance levels. All values in bold type are significant at the .001 level.

Table 12

TABLE OF CHI SQUARES,* SHOWING CHOICES ON EACH QUESTION, WEEKS 1, 2, AND 3, ALL MEMBERS OF GROUP II COMBINED

Week	*Agreed most*	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*	*No. of significant cells*
1	**22.29** D+, F—	5.04	**47.37** D+; P, F—	**23.75** D+, F—	8.06	3
2	11.73	10.67	**24.63** D+; P, F—	**18.92** D+, CD—	**21.05** FI+	5
3	4.50	5.49	**33.88** FI+; P, F—	8.23	8.96	1

* Three degrees of freedom were used to determine significance levels. All values in bold type are significant at the .001 level.

I. *Is there a tendency for the members of each affective approach type to display characteristic sociometric choice patterns?*

The answer to this question would be "Yes" if the data satisfied two criteria: (1) if members of a particular affective approach type significantly chose members of certain types and not others, and (2) if affective approach types differed in the types chosen. In Tables 9 and 10 the upper-case symbols indicate affective approach types chosen significantly above the others. That is, every time a symbol appears in upper case in these tables it means that this type was chosen above all others. It will be seen from Table 9 that in Group I 42 of the possible 60 responses were concentrated on one or a few affective approach types. In Group II (Table 10) 62 of the possible 75 choices were concentrated on some particular affective approach type. In general, then, members are not diffuse in their choices but tend to choose certain types and not others: the first criterion is satisfied.

These choices might be the same for all affective approach types. In other words, they might be an effect of certain tendencies that are true for the group as a whole. Inspection of Tables 11 and 12 and comparison with Tables 9 and 10 show that this is not the case. For example, in Table 12 the responses to Question 2 for the first week show that the group-as-a-whole saw the dependency members as their major spokesmen. Yet inspection of Table 10 shows that it was the counterdependency and pairing members who contributed most to this general finding: although counterdependency and pairing members saw dependency members as the major

Table 13

Table of Chi Squares,* Showing Affective Approach Types Chosen on Each Question, All Members and Meetings Combined, Group I

	Agreed most	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*
Chi square	**13.87**	**61.66**	**59.19**	4.60	**64.16**
Modality types overchosen	CD	F	CD		F
Modality types underchosen	F	Fl	D, F		

* Chi squares significant at the .01 level are in demibold type; those significant at the .001 level are in bold type.

Table 14

Table of Chi Squares,* Showing Affective Approach Types Chosen on Each Question, All Members and Meetings Combined, Group II

	Agreed most	*Agreed least*	*Major spokesman*	*Closest to*	*Farthest from*
Chi square	**37.04**	11.15	**96.36**	**53.66**	**24.34**
Modality types overchosen	D		D	D	Fl, F
Modality types underchosen					

* Chi squares significant at the .01 level are in demibold type; those significant at the .001 level are in bold type.

spokesman, fight and flight members chose counterdependency individuals, and dependency members chose flight individuals in response to this question. Similar findings occur in the case of other modality types and other questions: the second criterion is also satisfied.

We conclude from these findings that each affective approach type tends to focus its choices on some types and not on others, and that these choice tendencies are at least somewhat different from type to type and from week to week.

II. *What are the sociometric choice characteristics of each modality type?*

An inspection of Tables 9 and 10 shows that no simple relationship exists between modality type and the pattern of sociometric choice. It is not, for example, a simple matter of individuals' accepting members of the same modality type and rejecting those of other types. Rather, choices appear to vary from question to question and from week to week. Two further questions arise: (*a*) Do certain choice trends appear for all members?, and (*b*) Are the choices of each modality type interpretable in terms of our assumptions about the psychological characteristics of that type and in terms of other information about the members?

a. Do certain choice trends appear for all members? Although members do not choose positively among themselves, neither do they reject others of their own modality type. The responses to the "agreed least" and "farthest from" questions indicate that members of the same modality type choose one another *below* chance expectancy. (The exception to this is the fight modality type in Group I. Here there is a general tendency in the group-as-a-whole to reject fight members, which the fight members themselves also share.) In general, however, the modality type ties appear to be sufficiently strong so that members of a particular modality type do not reject one another.

b. Are the choices of each modality type interpretable in terms of our assumptions about the psychological characteristics of that type and in terms of other information about the members? Each modality type does show certain definite and rather complex choice characteristics. To interpret these characteristics thoroughly, further information concerning behavioral and additional perceptual characteristics of the modality type seems to be required.

We will illustrate for the flight members of Group II: During the first week these members tend strongly to reject the pairing members: they agree with them least and feel farthest from them. On the other three questions, which may be considered positive in character, the pairing members are significantly underchosen. During the second and third weeks this very marked pattern does not appear.

Let us consider, first, the meaning of pairing and flight as approach mechanisms in the group. Members whose most characteristic affective approach is flight display a need to avoid involvement in the task or contact with others. Members whose most characteristic affective approach is pairing display a need to form close relationships with others. One might expect, then, that flight members would feel threatened by pairing members since they, more than any other type, would be likely to urge the group toward greater intimacy. In Chapter 15, the change characteristics of these same members were studied from their pre- and post-RGST protocols. From these projective data the flight members were diagnosed as unlikely to express much pairing during group interaction. In Chapter 5, where members' perceptions of their own role were identified, the flight members described themselves as warm and friendly. An inspection of the original self-perceptual data shows that this perception was strongest toward the end of the group experience and weakest at the beginning. Thus we see that while projective data show these flight members as low in pairing, they themselves prefer to think of themselves as very warm persons. All this suggests that the flight individuals would be especially threatened by pairing members since the latter might force them to recognize that they are not as capable of warmth as they would like to believe.

These characteristics, then, appear to be consistent with the flight members' initial rejection of the pairing persons in the group. The fact that this rejection drops out after the first week is still to be explained. Two findings are suggestive. First, an inspection of the pairing members' perceptions of their own role (see Table 6) indicates that while they saw themselves as expressing much pairing during the first and third weeks, they saw themselves as expressing relatively little pairing during the second week. This suggests that the pairing members may have been less threatening to the flight members during the second week because they actually expressed less pairing. The second relevant finding is that the flight members describe themselves as expressing more pairing as the meetings go on. If this perception is a reflection of changed behavior, then we might assume that the expression of pairing becomes less threatening to the flight members as time goes on. A more thorough check on this hypothesis would require information about the behavior of the flight and pairing members. Such data are available but have not yet been analyzed.

The above discussion of the flight members of Group II is intended to indicate the kinds of data required in order thoroughly to account for the pattern of sociometric choices of each modality type. Similarly, specific analyses of the other modality types are being held until all relevant information is available.

III. *How does the composition of the total group influence the choice patterns of specific modality types?*

Groups I and II differed in their compositions in that Group I included members whose most characteristic affective approach was fight, flight, dependency, or counterdependency; while Group II included the above types plus pairing members. Thus, Group II contained a wider range of modality types than Group I.

Table 9 shows that in Group I the choices of the members were directed primarily to fight and counterdependency members. Fight members tend to be rejected (they were chosen overwhelmingly by all modality types on the "agreed least" and "farthest from" questions). Counterdependency members tended to be seen by all modality types as their major spokesmen. An inspection of Table 10 shows that the choices in Group II were not as narrowly directed. Here, there is a tendency to choose among the whole range of modality types: no single type is seen as major spokesman by all members; no single type is agreed with most by a majority of members a majority of the time; etc.

In composing these two groups it was assumed that Group II, because of the greater variety of modality types represented, would deal with a wider variety of problems and offer a wider range of experiences to its members. The sociometric findings appear consistent with this expectation. The focusing of choices in Group I on fight and counterdependency members suggests that the members were fairly consistently preoccupied with problems of strife and of finding direction. The distribution of choices among many modality types in Group II suggests that members were less limited by narrow and overpowering preoccupations in the group, and had more opportunity to reflect their specific needs in their choices.

A second difference between the two groups concerns the extent to which choices are concentrated in a single affective approach type. An estimate of this is contained in the far right columns of Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12. For example, in Table 9 the top right cell of the entire table reads "5, 3, 2." This means that during the first week the responses on the part of fight members to each of the five questions were concentrated on one or two affective approach types. In the second week this concentration occurred for only three of the questions, and in the third week for only two. Thus the members originally constricted their choices to certain affective approach types, but later spread their choices more generally among the types. This shift suggests that the fight members may originally have been more influenced by personal needs and directed their choices in these terms. Later, they may have been influenced by other factors such as specific contributions of members or more subtle aspects of personality.

A comparison of Groups I and II shows that in general the members of Group II showed more change toward less concentration in their choices than did the members of Group I. It is interesting that the change toward less rigid choices occurs in the group whose compositional organization includes pairing members and consequently a broader range of affective approaches. We cannot tell whether a broader range, per se, or the specific presence of pairing members is the influencing factor. But we can hypothesize that the compositional difference produced a constricted focusing of attention and constricted choices in Group I, and a broader scope and less constricted choices in Group II.

IV. *Do changes occur in sociometric choice through time?*

In the far right columns of Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12 the frequencies of significant cells for each of the three weeks are presented. These frequencies may range from 0 to 5. A frequency of 5 would indicate that the responses to all five questions showed a tendency to be concentrated in one or two modality types. A frequency of 0 would indicate that the responses to all five questions were randomly distributed among modality types. It will be seen that there is some tendency for choices to be more specifically directed toward certain of the modality types during the first two weeks of the group experience than during the third week. This is shown most clearly in Tables 11 and 12.

A possible explanation for this finding is that choices are initially based largely upon inner needs, that is, individuals make choices consistent with the needs associated with their affective approach types. This may be an effect of initial insecurity in the group. (It is seen clearly in the case of the flight members described above.) Later, members' choices may be more influenced by specific group events and therefore less bound to personal needs.

SUMMARY

When group members are classified according to "most characteristic affective approach," it is found that the members of each affective approach type display characteristic sociometric choices. That is, the choices of a particular type are not made randomly but possess some definite pattern. The choice pattern of a given affective approach type is complex and cannot be summarized in terms of any simple formula. An analysis of the flight members of one group suggests that two of the many possible factors influencing sociometric choice are: (1) the kind of member likely to threaten the type's preferred mode of operating, and (2) changes in felt security among the type members.

Group composition may influence the choices made by influencing the affective areas on which the attention of the group is focused. In the two groups studied, choices were more specifically concentrated on certain types during early stages of the group life; later, choices were distributed more generally among all types. A suggested explanation for this change is that members are most influenced by personal needs early in the series of meetings when they are still concentrating on finding a role in the group and security for themselves. The fact that this kind of change was more marked in one of the two groups studied suggests that group composition may also be a factor.

CHAPTER IX

Sociometric Choice and Patterns of Member Participation[1]

In any group individual members come to prefer certain persons over others. These preferences are assumed to influence the ways in which they respond to the members during group discussion. This study investigates the relation between sociometric preferences and one kind of response: coparticipation.

This study is organized around the following questions:

I. *Do group members tend to coparticipate with other group members whom they choose positively on sociometric questions?*

II. *To what extent do individuals differ in this tendency?*

III. *Can these relationships be accounted for by valency factors?*

In order to investigate these questions a sixteen-member training group was studied. This group met for thirteen two-hour sessions with a trainer and a training associate.

The study required, first, assessing the extent of coparticipation among members of the group over all their meetings. Second, it required the identification of the sociometric preferences of the members, and the organization of this information in such a way that it could be compared with coparticipation. We will begin by describing the procedures for collecting and organizing sociometric and participation data.

A. *The Assessment of Coparticipation*

It is a matter of observation that when watching a group meeting it is often possible to identify a series of phases of interaction. For example, a group may discuss a certain subject for a time in an apathetic manner, may proceed to a more animated discussion of the same subject, then to another topic, and so on. Certain individuals may be more active during some phases, less active during others. For the purposes of this study, when two members tend to be active during the same phases and inactive during the same phases, they can be said to be participating together, or "coparticipating." In order to assess this kind of coparticipation, it is necessary to identify phases of group operation and measure the extent to which each pair of members is active or inactive during the same phases. The procedure adopted here can be described in three steps:

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[1] This study was conducted by Saul Ben-Zeev.

1. *Rating group behavior.* Two observers, present at all group meetings, rated a sample of each meeting (ranging from 19 minutes to 114 minutes). They used a behavioral rating system[2] that identifies each speaker, in order, and assesses the character of the emotionality and the quality of the work contained in each statement made during the discussion. For the purposes of identifying coparticipation, the relevant information was the identity of each speaker and the minutes during which he participated.

2. *Unitizing the rated sample.* Each behavioral sample was divided into phases, or "natural units," according to an objective procedure developed by Saul Ben-Zeev.[3] The procedure for unitizing group interaction requires only the identity (by code number) of the group members participating in successive minutes. By means of a series of conventions, points are identified at which clear shifts occur in the participation pattern. That is, at such a turning point certain members who have been participating drop out of active discussion and certain others enter. A series of such points marks off a series of units of varying length. Each unit is homogeneous with respect to the particular subgroup participating and is different in this respect from the units preceding and following. The unitizing procedure is based on the theoretical assumption that because of their individual valency pattern different members carry different kinds of work-emotionality operations in the group.

When this procedure was applied to the behavioral samples, 137 natural units were identified, ranging from 3 to 18 minutes in duration (average duration: 5.6 minutes).

3. *Constructing a coparticipation matrix.* For each pair of members, the extent to which they participate together, and are silent together, in the

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[2] By this means, each statement made during the sample was rated for: (1) the quality of the work (along a four-point scale); and (2) the kind of affect expressed (fight, flight, pairing, or dependency). For a more detailed description of this procedure, see pp. 193–94.

[3] A manual describing this procedure is presented in Chapter 5 of *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation*, Herbert A. Thelen and others, Human Dynamics Laboratory, 1954.

natural units can be determined. Their coparticipation can be summarized in the following way:

		Member B	
		Appears in the unit	*Does not appear in the unit*
Member A	Appears in the unit	a	c
	Does not appear in the unit	b	d

The fourfold point correlation $\left(r=\frac{(ad)(bc)}{\sqrt{(ab)(bd)(dc)(ac)}}\right)$ was applied to these tabulations and a correlation coefficient was computed for each pair of members. This correlation coefficient constituted a measure of the extent to which each pair coparticipated in the natural units. The results are shown in Table 15.

Table 15

THE COPARTICIPATION MATRIX

	Member															
Member	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*
1		.15	–.01	.04	.24	.17	.14	.07	.20	.19	.19	.02	.12	.12	–.08	.04
2	.15		.28	.30	.03	.22	.11	–.04	–.02	.14	.13	.14	.16	.06	.19	–.15
3	–.01	.28		.04	.17	.27	.08	.00	.10	.04	–.08	–.05	.21	–.03	–.09	–.12
4	.04	.30	.04		.11	.39	.04	.14	.02	.00	.31	.14	.00	–.05	.18	–.14
5	.24	.03	.17	.11		.30	.13	.16	.18	.06	.06	–.15	.05	.05	–.03	–.06
6	.17	.22	.27	.39	.30		.27	.13	.05	.07	.17	–.04	.10	.00	–.01	–.13
7	.14	.11	.08	.04	.13	.27		–.05	.03	.14	–.02	–.05	.18	–.03	.02	.08
8	.07	–.04	.00	.14	.16	.13	–.05		.24	.16	.05	–.06	–.07	.07	.05	–.13
9	.20	–.02	.10	.02	.18	.05	.03	.24		.20	.12	.08	.20	.20	.00	.06
10	.19	.14	.04	.00	.06	.07	.14	.16	.20		.03	.00	.01	–.07	.14	–.12
11	.19	.13	–.08	.31	.06	.17	–.02	.05	.12	.03		.18	.12	.01	.18	–.04
12	.02	.14	–.05	.14	–.15	–.04	–.05	–.06	.08	.00	.18		.06	.00	–.01	.06
13	.12	.16	.21	.00	.05	.10	.18	–.07	.20	.01	.12	.06		.10	.07	–.14
14	.12	.06	–.03	–.05	.05	.00	–.03	.07	.20	–.07	.01	.00	.10		.07	–.13
15	–.08	.19	–.09	.18	–.03	–.01	.02	.05	.00	.14	.18	–.01	.07	.07		–.04
16	.04	–.15	–.12	–.14	–.06	–.13	.08	–.13	.06	–.12	–.04	.06	–.14	–.13	–.04	

B. *The Identification of Sociometric Choice*

Here, the task consisted of collecting sociometric information from the members and organizing it in a way that made it possible to compare this information with coparticipation. Two steps were followed:

1. *Collecting sociometric information.* At the close of each two-hour meeting each member was asked to answer the following two questions:

    a. Which of the other members most accepted your ideas? (Please list in order.)

    b. Which were the best spokesmen for your point of view? (Please list in order.)

2. *Constructing a sociometric matrix.* The number of persons respondents were to choose was unrestricted, and the number of choices actually made varied from day to day and from person to person. In order to make use of all the data, rather than first choices only, the following procedure was adopted: persons mentioned explicitly were assigned ranks corresponding to the order in which they were listed; those not mentioned were considered to be tied for the remaining ranks. Following this initial treatment of the data it was possible to set up a matrix for each sociometric question, thus showing the average rank assigned by each member to every other member. The two matrices were found to be closely related and were therefore combined into a single over-all matrix that should most reliably represent the extent to which each member perceived agreement between himself and every other member of the group. The combined matrix is shown in Table 16.

With the data organized in this form, it was possible to consider the three questions raised earlier.

I. *Do group members tend to coparticipate with other group members whom they choose positively on sociometric questions?*

The over-all relation between coparticipation and sociometric choice is summarized in the coefficient of correlation between the coparticipation matrix and the sociometric matrix. The correlation coefficient is found to be .15 and, because of the large *N*, is significant at the .04 level of confidence. We conclude that a small but positive relationship exists.

Confronted with a small relationship, which is also an average or over-all measure, one is inclined to wonder about its stability. Is this average a result of a wide range of positive and negative relationships, different for each individual, or is the range among individuals small?

II. *To what extent do individuals differ in this tendency?*

The relation between coparticipation and sociometric choice for each member is found by considering separately the columns for each individual

Table 16

THE SOCIOMETRIC MATRIX *

Member chosen

Member choosing	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*
1		8.5	8.7	7.8	7.7	7.4	9.1	8.8	6.8	7.4	7.5	8.5	8.1	7.8	7.0	9.4
2	9.4		5.2	3.1	7.5	7.4	8.5	9.4	7.3	7.5	9.4	9.4	7.7	9.1	9.0	9.4
3	8.6	8.0		5.1	7.4	7.1	8.1	8.2	8.8	6.1	8.7	9.5	9.5	8.9	7.7	8.5
4	9.0	8.2	5.5		6.6	7.5	8.0	8.6	9.0	7.5	8.4	9.0	7.8	9.2	7.6	8.4
5	8.5	9.1	6.6	2.6		8.2	7.8	8.2	9.1	9.4	9.1	9.2	8.9	9.1	6.1	8.3
6	8.6	8.4	6.7	6.5	6.5		5.5	8.1	9.2	9.5	7.1	9.5	9.0	9.0	9.3	7.5
7	8.5	8.3	8.5	7.9	3.9	6.2		8.4	8.0	8.5	8.0	8.5	7.4	8.0	7.9	8.5
8	8.3	7.7	8.3	8.0	8.3	8.3	7.1		8.0	7.0	8.3	8.3	8.0	8.3	8.0	8.3
9	6.7	8.0	4.9	8.9	7.8	9.0	6.7	8.2		9.5	7.5	9.7	8.4	9.4	6.9	9.4
10	9.0	8.4	3.2	5.6	8.1	8.6	8.8	8.8	8.1		9.0	9.0	9.3	9.3	7.6	7.6
11	8.6	8.9	7.7	7.8	8.4	7.7	8.1	8.3	7.4	7.7		8.3	8.0	7.7	8.9	7.1
12	8.2	8.5	8.0	8.2	8.8	8.2	6.5	8.0	8.7	8.1	8.4		8.2	7.4	5.8	9.0
13	8.2	8.6	6.6	5.8	7.1	8.2	7.3	8.5	8.1	8.9	8.6	8.9		8.6	8.6	8.2
14	8.5	8.5	7.6	8.2	8.2	7.9	8.2	7.9	8.5	8.2	8.5	8.0	7.2		6.7	8.2
15	7.7	8.6	7.5	8.0	8.6	8.4	7.2	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.4	8.6	7.4	7.5		8.4
16	8.1	7.2	4.5	8.0	6.6	7.2	8.4	8.4	8.2	7.8	9.1	9.1	8.8	9.1	9.4	

* The Average Rank Assigned by Each Member to Every Other Member for Two Sociometric Questions.

in the two matrices. The correlation coefficients, computed for each member independently, are shown in Table 17.

Table 17

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN COPARTICIPATION AND SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE FOR EACH MEMBER

Member	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*
r	.19	.61	.04	.11	.12	.92	.42	.04	–.11	–.13	–.36	.46	.08	.01	–.21	–.28

It seems clear there is no consistent relationship, since these variables sometimes operate closely together (for example, for Individual 6) and sometimes are opposed (for example, for Individual 11). The second question would appear to require the answer that individual members differ widely in the relationship between the persons they choose in private and the persons with whom they are stimulated to participate. What, then, accounts for these differences?

III. *Can these relationships be accounted for by valency factors?*

It is clear from Table 17 that individuals differ considerably in the extent to which they participate with persons for whom they show positive preferences. Some members show a high relationship between these two factors, while others show very little relationship. In thinking generally about possible psychological differences between persons who are high and low in this respect, it was felt that individuals who show strong tendencies to establish friendly relationships with others and to express positive feelings freely would be likely to participate with those with whom they feel in agreement. Individuals who show strong tendencies to enjoy arguments and to express negative feelings freely would be likely to participate with persons with whom they disagreed. We might, therefore, hypothesize that persons for whom there is a strong relationship between coparticipation and sociometric choice will show a higher valency for pairing and a lower valency for fight than will persons for whom there is very little relationship or an inverse relationship between these two factors.

In order to test this hypothesis the pairing and fight characteristics of the three members who showed the highest correlations in Table 17 (Members 6, 2, and 12) were compared with the pairing and fight characteristics of the three members who showed the lowest correlations (Members 11, 15, and 10).[4] The data available for these subjects made it possible (1) to measure the extent of their actual participation in fight and pairing situations, and (2) to assess their valencies for fight and pairing as determined from the "Reactions to Group Situations Test."

1. *Assessing participation in fight and pairing situations.* It was suggested earlier that successive phases or, in our terms, "natural units" may differ from one another in content, affective tone, and so on. It follows that there may be some units in which the prevailing emotional tone is pairing (warmth, intimacy) and others in which the prevailing emotional tone is fight (disagreement, hostility). The first step necessary to assess participation in fight and pairing situations was the development of a careful procedure for identifying the emotional character of natural units. The procedure developed (described in detail on pages 28–29) involves identifying units in which the expression of pairing (or fight) occurred significantly more frequently than could be expected by chance.

Following this identification, a count was made of the number of times each of the six subjects participated in these fight and pairing units. These frequencies were adjusted so as to take into account (*a*) the fact that individuals varied in their total participation, and (*b*) the fact that some modalities appeared more frequently than others. The resulting frequencies were transformed into standard scores and further adjusted so as to eliminate negative values. These adjusted standard scores represent the extent to which each individual participated in fight and pairing situations, and are shown in the first part of Table 18.

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[4] Member 16 actually belongs in this low group. However, he was eliminated from this study because he is the designated leader of the group; and it was assumed that the leader's behavior, and possibly his choices, would be strongly influenced by his training approach and aims and that the psychological bases for the relationship between coparticipation and choice would therefore not be comparable with that of the other members.

2. *Assessing valencies for fight and pairing from the "Reactions to Group Situations Test."*[5] The number of affective responses of each individual to fight and pairing stimulus items was assumed to indicate the extent to which the individual's energies were mobilized by these kinds of situations. The final scores, then, measure each individual's valency (culture preference component) for fight and pairing (as determined from the RGST), and are shown in the second part of Table 18.

Table 18

VALENCIES FOR FIGHT AND PAIRING FOR THE SIX MEMBERS WHO SHOW THE HIGHEST AND LOWEST CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN COPARTICIPATION AND SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE

		Behavior		*RGST*	
		Fight	*Pairing*	*Fight*	*Pairing*
Members showing high correspondence	2	.98	3.08	2.09	3.11
	6	.98	1.63	1.48	1.32
	12	2.00	4.84	.97	2.60
Mean		1.32	3.18	1.51	2.34
Members showing low correspondence	10	3.09	1.25	2.84	1.30
	11	3.35	1.49	2.14	1.04
	15	2.53	2.03	2.76	1.40
Mean		2.99	1.59	2.58	1.25
t-test between means		3.97	1.68	2.81	2.03
Significance level		.01	.09	.02	.05

Table 18 shows that those who coparticipate with the persons with whom they perceive themselves to be in agreement tend also to prefer a pairing culture to a fight culture. And conversely, those who do not coparticipate with those they perceive themselves as in agreement with tend to prefer a fight culture to a pairing culture. The hypothesis is upheld that the extent of correspondence between coparticipation and sociometric choice is related to valencies for fight and pairing.

SUMMARY

The sixteen members of a training group showed wide differences in the extent to which they tended to participate with members with whom they perceived themselves as being in agreement. The relationship ranged from strong positive ($r = .92$) to moderate negative ($r = -.36$). The members for whom there was a high correspondence between coparticipation and sociometric choice tended to express (both behaviorally and on a projective test) relatively more pairing and less fight than did the members for whom there was a negative relationship between coparticipation and sociometric choice. These findings suggest that coparticipation may be of two sorts:

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[5] This test is described on pp. 51–56.

a. Co-operation, in common cause with persons believed to be like-minded, or

b. Competition or conflict, with persons believed to hold different (possibly unacceptable or threatening) beliefs.

Since a group working on genuine problems generates its solutions through the process of bringing agreement out of controversy, it seems clear that both types of coparticipation are necessary. This study reminds us that different personalities are activated under different conditions, and that a variety of personalities may be needed to help the group deal with the wide range of emotional conditions it may generate as it works on its tasks.

CHAPTER X

Sociometric Choice and Valency Patterns of Members[1]

THE GENERAL hypothesis of this study is that sociometric choices of group members can be largely accounted for by the group context in which the choices are made and by certain valency characteristics of the members.

This hypothesis was explored through the intensive study of a single seven-member training group. Self-perceptual data collected from each member were treated in two ways: (1) the group context was described in terms of the self-perceptual subtype structure of the group; and (2), each member was characterized from a detailed examination of his self-perceptual data, in terms of his preferred modality, areas of conflict, and ways of dealing with conflict. On the basis of these two kinds of information sociometric choices of members were predicted. These predictions were checked against the actual sociometric choices of the members and, on the basis of both successes and failures, the conceived relationships among sociometric choice, group structure, and individual characteristics were revised.

The group studied constituted a regular class in Group Dynamics at the University of Chicago and met twice weekly for 10 weeks. The two instructors were Dr. Bernard G. Rosenthal and Dr. E. A. Shils. The group discussion developed from the needs and interests of the members. The role of the instructors was to guide discussion and aid the group in interpreting its own process. The general aims of the group were to increase the members' understandings of group interaction and of their own behaviors in group situations.

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock. See Dorothy Stock, "The Relationship Between the Sociometric Structure of the Group and Certain Personality Characteristics of the Individual," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, 1952.

Assessment of the self-perceptual subtype structure of the group

At the beginning of the group experience self-perceptual data in the form of Q sorts were collected from each member. Each subject was asked to sort a population of 60 descriptive statements into a prescribed frequency distribution. One end of the distribution was to include statements he felt were "most like" himself, while the other end was to include statements he felt were "least like" himself.[2] The 60 statements were equally divided into the emotional categories of fight, flight, pairing, counterpairing, dependency, and counterdependency.

In order to identify the self-perceptual subtype structure of the group every self-sort was correlated with every other self-sort. This provided a 7 × 7 correlational table; this was factor analyzed, and the resulting three factors were rotated to simplest structure. This procedure yielded information about intermember communalities, and about the emotional dimensions significant for the group-as-a-whole.

Assessment of individual characteristics from the self-perceptual data

Because of the precise nature of the predictions to be made it was necessary to study each individual in further detail. A "needs-threat" schema was adopted for assessing individual characteristics. The statements seen by each individual as most characteristic of himself formed the basis for the following analyses:

1. Preferred modality: The emotional modality or modalities in which the individual prefers to operate or prefers to think of himself as operating; ordinarily, the modality or modalities rated as most characteristic of the self.
2. Conflict: In general, conflict is assumed to exist when statements from mutually incompatible modalities (for example, dependency and counterdependency) are attributed to the self, or when the preferred modality is rationalized or disguised as something else.
3. Defenses: (*a*) A system of rationalizations is assumed to exist where the statements rated "most characteristic" of the self can be consistently interpreted according to some positively held social norm (tactfulness, constructiveness, etc.). (*b*) Fantasy is assumed where a statement rated among those most characteristic of the self is inconsistent with all other statements attributed to the self.
4. Reward: A member is rewarded by the behavior of another member that (*a*) facilitates operating in the preferred modality, and/or (*b*) reinforces the member's defenses.

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[2] This Q sort was also used in the studies reported in Chapters 11 and 22. A complete list of the Q statements is presented in Appendix B, Part 1.

5. Threat: A member is threatened by the behavior of another member that (*a*) attempts to force him to operate in a modality other than the preferred modality, and/or (*b*) may expose the member's defenses.

Prediction of sociometric choice from the structure of the group and from individual characteristics of members

Predictions of sociometric choice were based on the following three assumptions:

Assumption A: Sociometric choice is a function of the subtype structure of the group: members of the same subtype will prefer one another when the preferred modality can be achieved through co-operation (for example, pairing); members of the same subtype will reject one another when the preferred modality can be achieved only through conflict (such as counterdependency). The relevant data are the self-perceptual subtype structure of the group.

Assumption B: Members will tend to choose those members who facilitate operation in their preferred modality and will reject those who interfere with operation in their preferred modality. The relevant data are the "needs-threat" analyses of the individuals.

Assumption C: Members will tend to choose those members who reinforce or permit them to retain their central defenses; they will reject those members who threaten the pattern of their defenses. The relevant data are the needs-threat analyses of the individuals.

Measurement of sociometric choice. After each meeting, each member was asked to answer the following questions:

1. Who in the group do you feel could become a close friend of yours?
   Most ———; Least ———.
2. With whom in the group do you feel you could intimately talk things over?
   Most ———; Least ———.

Examination of the meeting-by-meeting responses to these questions showed that the two questions were essentially equivalent and also that the choices became stabilized over approximately the last five meetings. The data collected from the final two meetings of the group were used in this study.

Results. Data relevant to the prediction of sociometric choice on the basis of Assumption A: the self-perceptual subtype structure of the group.

The factor analysis and rotation of the self-perceptual data yielded the following matrix:

Table 19

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX OF A SEVEN-MEMBER TRAINING GROUP, SHOWING LOADINGS * FOR EACH MEMBER ON THREE FACTORS

	Factor		
Member	*A*	*B*	*C*
1	**.42**	**–.41**	.03
2	**.42**	.07	**.45**
3	–.15	**.41**	**.46**
4	.18	**.52**	.04
5	**.67**	.16	.04
6	**.55**	.03	–.19
7	–.07	–.15	**.69**

* Loadings of more than .20 are considered significant and are in bold type.

When the seven members are collected into subtypes homogeneous with respect to the pattern of factor loadings, they can be characterized as follows:

Factor A: Members 5 and 6
Factor B: Member 4
Factor C: Member 7

Factors A—B: Member 1
Factors AC: Member 2
Factors BC: Member 3

The self-perceptual content of Factor A was identified by combining the sorts of Members 5 and 6. Factor B was represented by Member 4 and Factor C by Member 7. The "most characteristic" items for each factor are presented in Appendix B, Part 2. A brief interpretative summary of each factor is presented here:

Factor A represents a need to assume a leadership role (Items 36 and 12) sensitive to group needs (Item 15). There is also a need to maintain rather impersonal relationships and to avoid conflict (Items 28, 32, and 38). The suggestion is that these members wish to maintain control of the group in order to deal with their fear of strong affect—particularly negative affect.

Factor B represents a need to express both pairing and fight freely and without limits (Items 11, 13, 37, and 59); and to maintain very close relationships with other members (Items 1 and 25). While there is not a central need to assume leadership, there is some competitive feeling toward individuals who dominate the group. Members high on this factor wish to maintain group conditions that permit the unrestricted expression of feelings and will fight those who attempt to lead the group in other directions.

Factor —B represents a general withdrawal from the group-as-a-whole (Item 8) and from interaction with others (Items 22, 16, and 50). Associated with this is a compliance with the leader and other members (Items 3 and 45). This latter tendency is probably rationalized by thinking of the self as not really withdrawn, but "subtle" (Item 35).

Factor C represents a need for friendly relationships with others (Items 19, 43, 7, and 13) within limits (Item 22). Factor C individuals are controlled, in general, by deference to the wishes of the total group (Items 15 and 45). The pairing expressed in this factor differs from that of Factor B in being less aggressive: Factor C members make pairing overtures to others but do not put pressure on them to respond.

General description of the self-perceptual subtype structure: Two of the factors (A and B) appear to be opposed in two ways: Factor A members wish to establish group conditions such that relationships are impersonal and the expression of feelings is strictly controlled; Factor B members wish to establish group conditions such that relationships among members are close and personal, and both positive and negative feelings are expressed freely. In addition to this basic incompatibility, Factor A members have a strong need to assume leadership and control; while Factor B members, though not so strongly leader-aspirant, feel competitive toward those who wish to take over.

We can expect these two subtypes to oppose each other; we can also expect the members of Subtype A to compete with Subtype B and with each other for control of the group.[3] Factor —B is essentially withdrawn and immobilized in the group. Factor C in a sense mediates between Factors A and B. It accepts some of the wish to pair of Subtype B without the aggressiveness of Subtype B; it also accepts some of the control of Subtype A. Finally, it recognizes the needs of other members to a greater extent than do other subtypes.

In examining the distribution of members among these factors and combinations of factors, one would expect Members 5 and 6 (belonging to Factor A) to be opposed to Member 4 (belonging to Factor B). At the same time one would expect Members 5 and 6 to compete with each other. Members 7, 2, and 3 might be expected to mediate between the first two subtypes (although Member 2 is more closely aligned with 5, and Member 3 is more closely aligned with 4). Member 1 shows some alignment with 5 and 6 but, because of the immobilization and weakness involved in Factor —B, is likely to isolate himself from the rest of the group.

Data relevant to the prediction of sociometric choice on the basis of Assumptions B and C:

A summary of the descriptions of each member is presented in Table

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[3] Note how similar this structure is to the one identified for the 18-member training group described in Chapter 11.

20. These descriptions show the individual's preferred modality, modality areas in which he has conflict, ways of dealing with this conflict, the kind of person who rewards him, and the kind of person who threatens him. These interpretative descriptions are based on the statements each member saw as most characteristic of himself.[4]

Predictions of sociometric choice

1. On the basis of Assumption A, subtype structure of the group, Factors A and B were found to represent incompatible tendencies. Therefore, it was predicted that Member 4 will reject Members 5 and 6 and that Members 5 and 6 will reject Member 4. In addition, the content of Factor A includes aggressive counterdependence. In order to meet their needs, the members of this subtype must compete with one another. Therefore, it was predicted that Members 5 and 6 would reject each other. These predictions are listed in Table 21, columns A.

2. On the basis of Assumption B, that members will choose those who facilitate operation in their preferred modality and reject those who interfere with operation in their preferred modality, Point b) in the last two columns of Table 20, indicates the kind of person we assume, from analysis of the individuals preferred modality, nature of conflict, and defenses, will most likely facilitate or threaten operation in the member's preferred modality. In making specific predictions it was assumed that a member would choose or reject another person or persons in the group who fitted these descriptions. For example, it was stated that Member 2 would choose a P person. In this group, Member 4 best fitted this description and Member 7 partially fitted it. Therefore, it was predicted that Member 2 would choose Member 4 and possibly Member 7. These predictions are summarized in the B columns of Table 21.

3. On the basis of Assumption C, that members will tend to choose those who reinforce or permit them to retain their central defenses and reject those who threaten their defenses. Point c) in the last two columns of Table 20 indicates the kind of person we assume will be most likely to reinforce or threaten the member's defenses. As with Assumption B, specific predictions were made by identifying the persons in this group who best fitted these descriptions. For example, it was stated that Member 1 would reject a fight-pairing person since this sort of person would, by demanding the free expression of positive and negative feelings, threaten to expose the real nature of Member 1's withdrawal. The person in the group who best fitted this

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[4] These are listed in Appendix B, Part 3.

Table 20

A SUMMARY OF THE NEEDS-THREAT CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH MEMBER

Member	*Preferred modality*	*Conflict*	*Defensive system*	*Rewarded by* *	*Threatened by* *
1	Counterpairing and flight	Some reluctance to admit CP and Fl as characteristic of himself	Fantasies himself as aggressive; denies real character of CP and Fl by rationalizing them as "tactfulness" and "objectivity"	b) Another Fl, CP person c) An F-CD person	b) An F or P person c) An FP person
2	Pairing and counter-dependency	Conflict re P-CP: resists P but cannot accept CP as characteristic of himself	Denies P-CP conflict by seeing his resistance to P as an unwillingness to discriminate against others	b) A P person c) _____	b) A CP or CP-F person c) _____
3	Fight and counter-dependency	Strong conflict re D; secondary conflict re P-CP	An aggressive, belligerent approach is adopted as a defense against D; no defense detected against P-CP.	b) _____ c) _____	b) _____ c) Someone who **excessively** expresses CD, D, or CP
4	Pairing, with fight secondary	No evidence of conflict	Uses F and CD in an attempt to control the group so that he can express P	b) A P or PF person c) A P or PF person	b) An actively CP or CP-F person c) CD or FCD persons

Table 20 (continued)

Member	*Preferred modality*	*Conflict*	*Defensive system*	*Rewarded by **	*Threatened by **
5	Counter-dependency	Some conflict re the expression of CD; conflict re P-CP; denies underlying D	The expression of CD is rationalized as being "good for the group"; CD, the preferred modality, is itself a reaction formation against underlying D needs	b) A CD-D person without conflict, with CP c) A constructive CP person	b) A CD person c) A CD or PF person
6	Counter-dependency	Some conflict re the expression of CD; strong withdrawal tendencies which are denied; underlying D denied	The expression of CD is rationalized as being "good" for the group; CP is rationalized as tact and constructiveness; CD, the preferred modality, is itself a reaction formation against underlying D needs.	b) A CD-D person without conflict, with CP c) A P person	b) A CD person c) A CD or PF person
7	Dependency, possibly pairing	Little conflict re D; some conflict re P-CP	Well defended: no denial or distortion; D is rationalized as co-operation, and CP as tact and a preference for the intellectual.	b) A CD person or a moderate P person c) ———	b) A strongly PF person c) A strongly PF person

* In the last two columns, b) refers to the kinds of members who would facilitate or prevent operation in the preferred modality; c) refers to the kinds of members who would reinforce or threaten the defensive structure.

description was Member 4. Therefore, we predicted that Member 1 would reject Member 4. These predictions are summarized in the C columns of Table 21.

Actual sociometric choices

The actual positive and negative choices made by the members are shown in Table 21.

Table 21

Predictions of Positive and Negative Sociometric Choices Made on the Basis of Assumptions A, B, and C, and Actual Choices

	Positive choices				*Negative choices*			
	Predictions based on assumption			*Actual choices*	*Predictions based on assumption*			*Actual choices*
Member	*A*	*B*	*C*		*A*	*B*	*C*	
1	—*	7	3	3	—	4	4	2, 4
2	—	4 or 7	—	4	—	1, 3	—	—
3	—	—	—	7, 1, 6, 5	—	—	4	4, 2
4	—	2, 7	2, 7	2, 6	5, 6	1, 3	1, 3	5, 1, 3
5	—	7	1	7, 3, 2	4, 6	6	6, 4	4
6	—	2, 4, 7	2, 4, 7	2, 7	4, 5	5	5	1, 5
7	—	2, 3, 6	—	5, 3, 6	—	4	4	4, 6, 1

* A blank in a "predictions" column means that no prediction could be made; a blank in an "actual choices" column means that the member made no choices.

Discussion of results

An inspection of Table 21 shows that some of the predictions were upheld and some were not.

On the basis of Assumption A, only a limited number of predictions could be made. It was predicted that members of two opposing subtypes (Members 4, 5, 6) would reject one another. This was partially upheld: Members 5 and 4 reject each other, but 6 does not enter in (in fact, Member 4 chooses 6 positively). It was predicted that Members 5 and 6 would reject each other. Actually, 6 rejects 5, but 5 does not reject 6. It would seem from these findings that subtype structure can provide only a framework within which choice can be understood, but that specific predictions must take into account more specific factors.

Some of the predictions made on the bases of Assumptions B and C were upheld and some were not. For example, the prediction that Member 2 would choose 4 and possibly 7 (on the basis of B) is considered upheld since Member 2 did actually choose Member 4. For Member 1, prediction on the basis of Assumption B was not upheld, but prediction on the basis of Assumption C was upheld. An examination of the pattern of successes and failures and their relation to the needs-threat characteristics of the members suggests the following as a probable relationship between personal charactertistics and sociometric choice: when the member is relatively free from conflict with respect to his preferred modality, or when the preferred modality is protected by adequate defenses, it is possible to predict sociometric choice on the basis of Assumption B. However, when the individual is conflict- or anxiety-ridden, the preferred modality is likely to represent some fantasy or rationalization, which serves to protect the individual from awareness of his real needs. This is particularly likely to be true since we are dealing with self-perceptions, and "preferred modality" is defined as the modality in which the member tells us he operates. In such cases, then, prediction on the basis of Assumption B is not likely to be upheld since members who facilitate the member's "preferred modality" are likely to threaten a self-image maintained defensively. In these cases, Assumption C is a more adequate basis for predicting sociometric choice.

Conclusions. The principal result of this study is a reformulation of hypotheses about the nature of the relationship between sociometric choice and personal characteristics of members:

1. For members who are diagnosed as being relatively free from conflict with respect to their preferred modalities it is possible to predict that members will prefer others who facilitate operation in their preferred modality and reject those who intefere with operation in their preferred modality.

2. For members who are in conflict concerning their preferred modalities the choices are more likely to be related to the defenses they adopt to permit them to maintain their self-percepts. In these cases prediction of sociometric choice may be made more adequately on the assumption that members will prefer those who can reinforce their defensive structures and reject those who are likely to threaten them.

3. The subtype structure of the group can provide a framework within which the sociometric choice patterns of its members can be understood. But in order to make specific predictions about sociometric choice it is necessary to have additional information about the personal characteristics of the members.

CHAPTER XI

The Need Characteristics of Subtypes and Their Relation to Behavior[1]

THIS RESEARCH tested the notions: (1) that group structure can be described in terms of a limited number of self-perceptual subtypes; (2) that members of each subtype share certain emotional needs in common; (3) that each subtype can be characterized by the shared needs of its members; (4) that these needs influence the behavior of the subtype members; and (5) that interaction among subtypes influences the over-all dynamics of group life.

Hill tested these notions in the case of a single training group. The self-perceptual subtype structure of this group, as well as the need characteristics of each subtype, was identified. From this information a series of hypotheses was generated with respect to (1) the relative frequency with which each subtype would express certain emotional modalities in the group, (2) the participation rates of the various subtypes under specified group-cultural conditions, and (3) the frequency of other kinds of behavior expected from subtype descriptions. These hypotheses relate behavioral characteristics of the subtypes to their need characteristics as determined from the self-perceptual data.

The summary of Hill's study will be developed as follows:

1. *The self-perceptual subtype structure of the group, the need characteristics of each subtype, and characterization of the group-as-a-whole.*
2. *The behavioral characteristics of each subtype.*
3. *The relation between the need characteristics of the subtype and selected behavioral characteristics.*
4. *Summary.*

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[1] This study was conducted by William F. Hill, who is also coauthor of this chapter. See William Fawcett Hill, "The Influence of Sub-Groups on Participation in Human Relations Training Groups," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1955.

1. *The self-perceptual subtype structure of the group, the need characteristics of each subtype, and characterization of the group-as-a-whole.*

Method for identifying and characterizing subtypes. The group studied contained eighteen members.[2] It met daily for two-hour sessions, and had fourteen meetings. During the twelfth meeting self-perceptual data were collected from each of the members by means of a Q sort.

The Q sort consisted of 60 descriptive statements,[3] so constructed that:

10 statements referred to fight (tendencies to express aggression and hostility)

10 statements referred to flight (tendencies to withdraw or to avoid fight) [4]

10 statements referred to pairing (tendencies to express warmth and intimacy)

10 statements referred to counterpairing (tendencies to increase emotional distance and impersonality of relationships)

10 statements referred to dependency (tendencies to rely on the leader, on others, or on structure for support and direction)

10 statements referred to counterdependency (tendencies to deny dependency by actively maintaining independence, assuming leadership, etc.)

Each member was asked to describe himself by sorting these descriptive statements into a forced frequency distribution. One end of the distribution was to include statements he felt were most characteristic of himself and the other was to include statements he felt were least characteristic. The frequency distribution is shown below:

Least characteristic *Most characteristic*

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Frequency	1	2	4	7	10	12	10	7	4	2	1

Every Q-sort was correlated with every other Q-sort and an 18 × 18 correlation table was formed. This table was factor-analyzed and the resulting 3-factor matrix was rotated to simplest structure. Table 22 shows the distribution of significant factor loadings [5] for the 18 members.

When the 18 members were collected into subtypes homogeneous with respect to the pattern of factor loadings, the following five subtypes emerged:

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[2] This group was part of the training program of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development that met at Bethel, Maine, during the summer of 1951.

[3] A complete list of statements is presented in Appendix B, Part 1.

[4] In this particular population of items, flight is defined specifically as avoidance of fight, and counterpairing is defined as avoidance of pairing. In subsequent definitions flight encompasses both these avoidances, and counterpairing is not used as an independent category.

[5] Factor loadings under .25 are considered nonsignificant and are not listed. This cut-off point is selected because with an *N* of 60, correlations of less than .25 may occur by chance.

Factor	*Members*
A	8, 15, 17, 18
B	3, 6, 14, 16
C	4, 5, 9, 13
AC	1, 2, 11
BC	7, 10, 12

The content of each of these five self-perceptual types was defined in the following way: the sorts for all members who showed "pure" loadings for a particular factor grouping (that is, Members 8, 15, 17, and 18 for Subtype A) were combined. Each sort was weighted according to the magnitude of its factor loading, and a new item array was identified that was characteristic of the factor as a whole.[6] The descriptive statements most and least characteristic for the factor grouping as a whole become the basis for characterizing that subtype. It should be noted that the factor analytic procedure identified the self-perceptual elements that the members of a given factor have in common. Each member may possess certain unique characteristics that are

Table 22

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX FOR AN EIGHTEEN-MEMBER TRAINING GROUP, GIVING SIGNIFICANT LOADINGS FOR EACH MEMBER ON THREE FACTORS

Member	*Factor A*	*Factor B*	*Factor C*
1	.39		.60
2	.54		.46
3		.45	
4			.34
5			.80
6		.72	
7		.63	.44
8	.64		
9			.55
10		.33	.48
11	.30		.41
12		.49	.38
13			.58
14		.58	
15	.53		
16		.44	
17	.40		
18	.50		

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[6] This procedure, from the construction of a population of items to the identification of the factors, is described in Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation,* Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954, Chapter 10 and Appendix F, Part 1.

ignored in this procedure. The assumption, according to the theory presented in Chapter 7, is that the common elements are likely to have most influence on the character of the group interaction.

An interpretative summary of the need characteristics of each subtype. The information on which these summaries are based (the most characteristic and least characteristic Q statements for each factor grouping) is presented in Appendix C. The interpretations were guided by a quantitative method of analysis developed by Hill, which involves representing graphically the self-perceptual characteristics of each subtype.[7]

Summary of Subtype A:

Need: to be central in the group and to take a directive role.
Emotional dynamics: The rejection of fight and pairing is, in part at least, a result of anxiety over own aggressive and intimacy impulses that are seen as being undesirable and possibly destructive to the group.
Behavioral trend: We would expect these members to support group-building or group-centered activity and thus tend to minimize pairing and fight threat. The members indicate a desire to be central and directive in the group, but none can obtain the support of the others because these members also feel competitive toward anyone who tries to dominate. They are dependent on a leader who can provide the structure within which they can comfortably operate.
Group situation for need-meeting: A somewhat impersonal group-centered structure in which intimate relationships and interpersonal hostilities will remain at a minimum and in which the members' opportunities to be central and directive will be maximized.

Summary of Subtype B:

Need: to satisfy their drives for intimate relationships and direct aggressive outlets. They do not evidence any strong status needs.
Emotional dynamics: The relatively strong desire for intimacy and clash is accompanied by some anxiety. It appears that the members sense that all-out indulgence of these desires would not be in their own best interests and that some control is necessary if they are to be tolerated by the group.
Behavioral trend: Basically they will operate in the fight and pairing modalities. In a somewhat unpredictable manner they may surrender to group pressure and inhibit their pairing and fight. They will oppose anyone who is perceived as trying to take the group over or who might curtail their opportunities to express pairing and fight. They should be able to operate successfully in all the modalities.
Group situation for need-meeting: A group in which they can indulge in pairing and fight to a maximum and in which group members are willing to tolerate their individualistic styles.

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[7] *Ibid.*, Chapter 11.

Summary of Subtype C:

Need: to avoid power struggles and dissension and to avoid taking personal responsibility for action.

Emotional dynamics: Members have an anxiety over their own aggression and their inability to operate where there is dissension and competition for leadership.

Behavioral trend: The anxiety caused by counterdependency in the group is handled by control of the kind of feelings and behavior that might be expected as reactions to competition and aggression. This is an overcontrol that produces immobility and passivity. The passivity will take the form of nonparticipation, neutrality, and acceptance of the prevailing climate in the group.

Group conditions for need-meeting: A group in which competition for leadership and discord are minimal and in which members are not required to be active in directing the group's activities or decisions.

Summary of Subtype AC:[8]

Need: to retain their status in the group and to avoid dissension.

Emotional dynamics: Anxiety over their own aggressive impulses is aroused by dissension in the group. They also have some concern over their status in the group.

Behavioral trend: They support the leader and look to him for satisfaction of their status needs. They support an emotionally noninvolving group-centered climate in order to handle their anxieties over aggression in the group. They are competitive with those who dominate the group because such persons threaten their status and because they might mobilize their own aggressive impulses.

Group conditions for need-meeting: A group that is nonemotional in its interpersonal relationships and group-centered, and in which the leader will provide recognition of the members' status.

Summary of Subtype BC:

Need: to avoid disharmony in the group and to have some well-controlled personal associations that will not interfere with group-centeredness.

Emotional dynamics: A desire for close relationships, which, however, cannot be sustained comfortably. There is uneasiness when there is disharmony in the group.

Behavioral trend: Like the C's, they are upset by dissension, but they are not so controlled or passive. They attribute some positive value to close relationships but are not as strong in their preference as the B's, and, in fact, have some distress in pairing situations. Their approach to fight and pairing is group-centered and they tend to subordinate to the maintenance of the total group their own needs, and their relationship with the leader and with other members. They are protective of the leader. Their status needs are not as strong as the AC's, and are met by approbation from the leader.

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[8] The members of the subtypes that represent combinations of two factors are likely to have less in common than the members who are represented by "pure" factors. This is because the groupings are a combination of elements of two factors, and some individuals may emphasize one factor over the other, or certain elements over others.

Group conditions for need-meeting: A group that is cohesive and whose orientation is group-centered. The leader is entrenched in his position but not stronger than the group. Interpersonal relationships are warm and safe; and dissension is minimal.

Characterization of the group-as-a-whole. The pattern of factor loadings presented in Table 22 and the summary of this table shows the membership of the training group to be divided almost equally into five self-perceptual subtypes. There is no self-perceptual element common to the entire group. Subtypes A, B, and C (having four members each) are independent of one another; while Subtypes BC and AC (three members each) share certain elements of two of the basic factors. The fact that the combination AB does not occur and that the other possible combinations do occur leads to the assumption that Subtypes A and B are more distinctly opposed to each other than are A and C or B and C. The leader (No. 18) belongs to Subtype A.

From this summary of subtype structure a picture emerges of a group in which no common need characteristics occur, in which two of the major subtypes are opposed to each other, and in which the designated leader belongs to one of the opposed subtypes. In general, the picture is one of a divided group in which the development of a common culture is unlikely.[9]

When the content of each subtype, as summarized in the preceding section, is added to this structural framework it becomes possible to identify more specifically the dynamics of the group. Subtypes A and B appear to be opposed in two ways. First, Subtype B shows a strong desire for intimate relationships and for direct aggressive outlets. In contrast, the members of A express anxiety over their own aggressive and intimacy impulses and prefer a more impersonal, controlled atmosphere. Second, the two subtypes are opposed in that each shows some need to be in control: the A's so that they can maintain impersonal, structured, group-centered conditions, and the B's so that they can establish wider limits for the expression of affect. The content for Subtype C shows that these are the withdrawn, immobilized members of the group. These members are anxiety-ridden: the overcontrol of their own fight, involvement, competitiveness, etc., is expressed as passivity and immobility. Subtype AC shows some of the needs of A but probably does not have A's energy and drive. Similarly the BC's are related to the B's but show more anxiety over their needs for intimacy.

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[9] It is important to remember that this subtype structure is based on self-perceptual data taken from the group toward the close of its experience. From these data alone we cannot tell to what extent this structure has been influenced by the nature of the group experience.

In general, one would expect the group interaction to be dominated by the struggle between Subtypes A and B. This is a struggle in which resolution would be extremely difficult. The persistence of this struggle would be likely to keep the members of Subtype C (and to a lesser extent, BC and AC) in a state of anxiety. For the C's, it would be likely to lead to the occasional breakdown of their overrigid control of their own feelings. Much nonwork-oriented affect is likely to be expressed. One would expect this group to find it difficult to engage in work, to make decisions, or to formulate or carry out plans.

2. *The behavioral characteristics of each subtype.*

Since the self-perceptual data were collected during the twelfth in the series of 14 meetings, meetings 10–14 were considered most relevant. A sample of interaction (318 minutes out of 392, or 81 per cent of the total interaction) constituted the behavioral data for this study. The following is a summary of the major ways in which this behavioral sample was treated:

a. By means of the Behavioral Rating System,[10] every statement was rated for (1) the quality of the work contained in the statement, and (2) the character of the emotionality expressed. The number of fight, flight, dependency, and pairing statements made by members of each of the five self-perceptual subtypes is shown in Table 23.

*Table 23**

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND THE FREQUENCY OF EXPRESSION OF FIGHT, FLIGHT, DEPENDENCY, AND PAIRING BY EACH SUBTYPE DURING MEETINGS 10–14

Subtype	*Total contributions*	*F*	*Fl*	*D*	*P*	*Total emotionality*	*Ratio emotionality participation*
A	**210**	113	36	**37**	**52**	238	1.13
B	133	76	16	13	**66**	171	1.29
C	**78**	47	**19**	14	22	102	1.31
AC	**84**	**25**	14	4	**52**	95	1.12
BC	**131**	59	18	9	40	126	.96
Total	636	320	103	77	232		

* Bold type indicates a high frequency that could not have occurred by chance alone; demibold type indicates a low frequency that could not have occurred by chance alone. All frequencies in bold or demibold type are significant at the .05 level or better.

b. Further differentiations were made in rating expressions of fight and pairing. Whenever the data were sufficient, a distinction was made between personal, individual orientation on the one hand and a group-oriented, nonpersonal orientation on the other:

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[10] Thelen and others, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.

Nonpersonal fight: sublimated and group-building aggression.

Personal fight: the direct expression of hostility to other group members.

Personal pairing: the preference for warm and intimate relationships with a group member.

Nonpersonal pairing: personal expressions designed to contribute to group cohesiveness and belongingness.

The results of this further categorization are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONAL AND NONPERSONAL EXPRESSIONS OF FIGHT AND PAIRING FOR ALL SUBTYPES, MEETINGS 10–14

	Personal fight		*Nonpersonal fight*		*Personal pairing*		*Nonpersonal pairing*	
Subtype	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*
A	28	35	51	65	13	41	19	59
B	31	56	24	44	20	60	14	40
C	23	66	12	34	13	77	4	23
AC	5	28	13	72	14	48	15	52
BC	21	48	23	52	13	52	12	48

c. The targets of all fight statements were identified. All statements originally rated as fight were also rated, when possible, for the person to whom the fight was directed. These judgments, summarized by subtype, are shown in Table 25.

Table 25

FIGHT STATEMENTS TABULATED IN TERMS OF SPEAKER AND TARGET, MEETINGS 10–14

			Target		
Speaker	*A*	*B*	*C*	*AC*	*BC*
A	17	19	11	8	20
B	26	9	6	0	4
C	11	8	1	3	2
AC	10	2	1	0	2
BC	22	8	6	3	1
Total	86	46	25	14	29

Further analysis of these frequencies showed that: (1) Subtype A members expressed fight among themselves more frequently than would be expected by chance; while Subtypes C and AC expressed fight among themselves less frequently than would be expected by chance; (2) Subtypes A and B directed more fight statements to each other than did any other pair of subtypes.

d. The number of leadership bids made by each subtype and the nature of their reactions to the designated leader were identified:

Leadership bids: Every statement was rated in terms of whether or not it represented an attempt by the speaker to initiate or introduce a new topic or new aspect of an ongoing topic. The frequencies of such leadership bids made by members of the five subtypes are shown in the first column of Table 26.

Response to the designated leader: All the designated leader's statements were examined to determine what his intent was for the direction of group discussion. Each statement by a member following one by the designated leader was rated for acceptance or rejection of the leader's intent. The second column of Table 26 shows the percentage of the members' reactions to the designated leader that indicated acceptance of his offers of direction.

Table 26 *

NUMBER OF LEADERSHIP BIDS MADE, AND RESPONSES TO BIDS ON THE PART OF THE DESIGNATED LEADER, FOR ALL SUBTYPES FOR MEETINGS 10–14

Subtype	*Number of leadership bids made*	*Number and percentage of acceptance reactions to the designated leader*	
		Number	*Per cent*
A	**89**	22	61
B	27	24	62
C	**13**	21	87
AC	20	19	61
BC	20	27	59

* Bold type indicates a frequency above chance expectation; demibold type indicates a frequency below chance expectation.

The frequency of participation in fight, flight, pairing, and dependency climates by each subtype was determined in the following way: The total behavioral sample was divided into 32 natural units of group interaction. The emotional climate of each of the units was defined as follows: The units were rank-ordered according to the frequency of fight statements contained in them. The units appearing in the top quartile were considered high in fight, while the units appearing in the bottom quartile were considered low in fight. The same procedure was followed for flight, pairing, and dependency. Thus, for every emotional category there were 8 units defined as high and 8 units defined as low. The number of statements made by each of the subtypes in each of six emotional climates for which predictions were made (high and low pairing and dependency and high fight and flight) were tabulated and are presented in Table 27.

Table 27 *

THE FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT EMOTIONAL CLIMATES FOR ALL SUBTYPES, FOR MEETINGS 10–14

	Number of statements made by subtype					
Climate	*A*	*B*	*C*	*AC*	*BC*	*Total*
High in fight	**50**	**45**	**17**	18	20	150
High in flight	**55**	51	**26**	28	**18**	178
High in pairing	**57**	34	**26**	24	43	184
Low in pairing	34	14	14	12	26	100
High in dependency	**42**	17	15	10	22	106
Low in dependency	40	19	7	**29**	22	117

* Bold type indicates a frequency above chance expectation; demibold type indicates a frequency below chance expectation.

Summary of behavioral findings:

a. Participation Characteristics:

Subtype A participates most; Subtype C least (Table 23).

The ratio of affect-laden contributions to total participation is greatest for Subtype C; the ratio of fight contributions to total participation is greatest for Subtype C (Table 23).

b. Leadership behavior:

Subtype A shows significantly more leadership behavior than any other subtype; Subtype C shows significantly less (Table 26).

No subtype is more active in opposing the designated leader than any other (Table 26).

c. Fight behavior:

Subtypes A and B express more fight than all others combined (Table 23).

The fight behavior of Subtypes B and C is more personal in character than the fight behavior of Subtypes A and AC (Table 24).

More hostility is directed toward Subtype A than any other subtype (Table 25).

The members of Subtype A express fight among themselves more frequently than do any other subtypes (Table 25).

The amount of hostility expressed between Subtypes A and B is greater than the amount of hostility expressed between any other combination of subtypes (Table 25).

Subtypes A and B show high participation in situations high in fight; Subtype C shows low participation in high-fight situations (Table 27).

d. Pairing behavior:

Subtypes B and AC express relatively more pairing than any other subtype; Subtype A expresses relatively less (Table 23).

The pairing behavior of Subtypes B and C tends to be more personal in character than the pairing behavior of Subtype A (Table 24).

Subtype A shows high participation in group situations high in pairing; Subtype C shows low participation in high-pairing situations (Table 27).

e. Flight behavior:
  - Subtype C expresses relatively more flight than any other subtype (Table 23).
  - Subtypes A and B show high participation in group situations high in flight; Subtype C shows low participation in high-flight situations (Table 27).

f. Dependency behavior:
  - Subtype A expresses relatively more dependency than any other subtype (Table 23).
  - Subtype A shows high participation in group situations high in dependency (Table 27).

3. *The relation between the need characteristics of subtypes and their behavioral characteristics.*

There appears to be considerable consistency between the affective behavior of a subtype and its need characteristics as derived from self-perceptual information.

Subtype A was described from the self-perceptual data as having some anxiety over their pairing and fight impulses, preferring an impersonal, structured atmosphere, relying on the leader to provide structure, and interested in gaining control over the group as a whole for the same reason. The behavioral data show this subtype as being high participators, making most of the leadership bids, expressing little pairing, expressing both pairing and fight mainly in nonpersonal ways, and fighting among themselves (presumably competing for a dominant role in the group).

Subtype B was described from the self-perceptual data as having a strong desire for intimate relationships and direct aggressive outlets. The behavioral data show this subtype as expressing a great deal of pairing, and expressing both fight and pairing in predominantly personal rather than nonpersonal ways.

It was assumed from the analysis of the need characteristics of Subtypes A and B that these two groups would strongly oppose each other since both had a need to control the group for their own ends. The behavioral data show Subtype A making many more direct bids for control than Subtype B. They also show a great deal of fight behavior between these two subtypes: A and B direct more fight statements to each other than do any other combination of subtypes. A and B also participate most actively in fight situations. The assumption of a struggle between these two subtypes seems to be borne out by the behavioral data.

Subtype C was described from the self-perceptual data as being withdrawn, anxious, and immobilized. Behaviorally, they participate least and express the most flight. It was also hypothesized that this subtype is overcontrolled and would occasionally break through this control with outbursts of affect. There is support for this asumption in the behavioral data: Subtype C shows the highest ratio of emotional statements to total participation, indicating that when these members do participate it is likely to be with the expression of feeling. The percentage of personally oriented pairing and fight expressed is higher for this subtype than for any other.

The relation between the behavioral findings and the need characteristics for Subtypes AC and BC are not as clear as for Subtypes A, B, and C. For example, it is not clear why the BC's should participate much more than the AC's, nor why the AC's express pairing as much as they do. It was pointed out earlier that these subtypes can be expected to be less homogeneous than Subtypes A, B, and C. It is possible that in order clearly to identify the relation between need characteristics and behavior for these members it is necessary to make individual analyses.

The relationship is also not always entirely clear between need characteristics and extent of participation in different emotional climates.[11] Subtype A participated highly in fight, flight, pairing, and dependency situations; Subtype B participated highly in fight situations but not in pairing situations, as might have been expected; and Subtype C showed relatively low participation in fight, flight, and pairing situations. It would be useful to have additional data on the kind of affect that each subtype expressed in various emotional situations. We might then have found, for example, that while Types A and B both participated in fight situations, Type A tended to express flight, and Type B fight or pairing under such group conditions.

4. *Summary.*

For an 18-member training group five self-perceptual subtypes were identified and described in terms of their need characteristics. Behavioral information was collected in order to examine the relationship between the need characteristics of the subtypes and the kind of affect they expressed in the group, and the frequency of participation under different group-emotional conditions. Considerable correspondence was found, particularly for those subtypes whose members could be considered most homogeneous in terms of need characteristics. It was also found that some characteristics of the total group experience could be described in terms of the interaction of the various subtypes and that the behavioral information was consistent with this description. A general conclusion of this study is that the theoretically derived notions listed at the beginning of this chapter are, in the main, demonstrated to be workable and sound.

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[11] A possible methodological difficulty in this study is the way in which situations were defined. The acceptance of the 25th and 75th percentiles as cut-off points may have been an insufficiently rigorous criterion.

Part C
Valency Composition and Group Problem Solving

CHAPTER XII

Valency Composition and Group Problem Solving: Introduction

There is an almost infinitely large number of attributes available for characterizing an individual: age, sex, occupation, education, personality characteristics, etc. When individuals are observed performing in groups, however, one tends to notice what might be referred to as "group-relevant" characteristics such as approach or commitment to the task, ability to get along with others, leadership ability, etc. We should expect that the productivity and mode of operation of groups would depend in large measure upon the amount and distribution of such characteristics among its members. But it is difficult, on a priori grounds, to decide just what classification of personality characteristics is most useful in studying small groups, and once this is decided it is sometimes difficult to assess these characteristics.

The concept of "individual valency pattern," discussed in general terms in Chapter 2 and illustrated more specifically in Chapter 5, seems to offer a profitable conceptual approach to group composition. This concept, as subdivided into basic components, takes account of both need *and* impulse control system, so that it is peculiarly adapted to consideration of the way the individual interacts in the group. By "valency pattern" we mean each individual's unique set of predispositions for expressing certain affect in certain kinds of group situations; these predispositions lead him to exhibit a fairly stable behavioral pattern that involves interacting with others in developing, maintaining, or moving away from the various work-emotionality cultures.

To illustrate this approach, suppose an individual is reluctant to become emotionally involved in a group's activities and, more particularly, tries to avoid involvement in disagreements and feels uncomfortable when others become so involved. Clinical analysis shows that he has impulses to fight but that he attempts to suppress them. Suppose further that this general approach to group interaction is habitual with this person. In the terminology being developed here, such a person would be described as having a strong valency for flight and a weak valency for fight. He would be expected to behave in certain ways in the group: when the group is fighting he may be one of the members who tries (possibly ineffectually) to urge the group toward some other mode of emotional expression. When the group is in flight he may take the lead and act to prolong the flight situation. He is likely to go along with others who express similar needs to avoid fight and express flight. Because these members support his own inclinations and needs he may feel more friendliness toward them than toward others.

A group in which most of the members can be described in this way will take on a certain character that is an expression of the interaction of members with strong valencies for flight. Groups composed differently with respect to the valency characteristics of the members can be expected to show different over-all characteristics that are, in turn, an expression of the interaction among the valency types included in *their* composition.

As noted in the previous section, the valency pattern of an individual is likely to involve very intricate relationships between tendencies to act, preferences for and concerns about pairing, fight, flight, dependency, and work. Affective approach, or the tendency to act, refers to *behavioral* characteristics; culture preference refers to *attitudes;* and area of concern refers to inferred *tension.* All three levels of valency are important to an understanding of a particular individual's interaction in a group. When discusing a collection of individuals, however, affective approach may be the most relevant. For purposes, then, of studying the group as a whole, each member can be generally characterized as having a predominant valency for expressing one or two of the modalities.

The possibility of describing each individual in these terms makes it possible similarly to consider the group-as-a-whole in terms of (1) the valency type or types predominantly represented in the group, and/or (2) the range of valency types present in the group. Groups whose valency compositions differ in these ways can be expected to display differing characteristic standards, approaches to problem solving, distributions of authority, etc. Thus the valency concept is applicable to the group-as-a-whole.[1] It is a matter of observation that certain groups are always ready to fight, or show little interest in their tasks, or generally get a lot done, etc. These are thought of as characteristics of the group-as-a-whole, and as expressions of a total group valency for certain of the modalities.

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[1] It should be noted that this extension of the concept of valency involves identifying the affective approach of the group as a whole, and possibly its institutionalized preferred culture. This should be distinguished from Bion's concept of the "basic assumption" culture, which most accurately refers to the group's area of concern.

Let us now consider the kinds of information that can be deduced from knowledge of the two aspects of group valency composition indicated above.

1. Groups may differ with respect to the valency type preponderantly represented in the group composition. Depending on the dominant modality, groups should differ in the kind of work-emotionality culture they most often establish, in the way they operate within the various work-emotionality cultures, and in their characteristic attack on task problems. To make this a little more concrete, consider two groups: one having a preponderance of members who express fight readily and who act together to maintain a fight culture in the group; and the other, one which can similarly be characterized as predominantly "pairing." We might expect such differences as the following to exist between these two groups:

a. The groups will differ in their efficiencies when dealing with any particular task problem. Each will be more efficient than the other with respect to different kinds of problems.

b. Both groups will be able to deal adequately with certain task problems but will show differences in the way they attack these problems.

c. The two groups will have different capabilities for dealing with "process" or interpersonal problems. In the second group, ambiguities in the limits to expression and/or management of hostility might never be dealt with, since when fight situations arise the pairing members will tend to move the group out of the fight modality.

d. Considering the individual member, a person with strong predispositions toward pairing will be somewhat isolated in the first group and find little support for his needs. The same will be true of a fight person in the second group.

e. The two groups will differ in the standards they develop with respect to the tolerance and encouragement of fight and pairing. In the first group the limits imposed on fight will be much broader than in the second group. The second group will show higher tolerance for pairing than will the first group.

One would not generally expect to find compositions in which *all* members show strong predispositions for fight or for dependency, etc. Yet it is not unusual for a group to tend toward a preponderance of one or another of the emotional modalities: and such a tendency will have a significant influence on the course of group operation.

2. Groups may differ with respect to the range of valency types included in their composition. A group whose composition includes a wide range of valency types would presumably be able to deal explicitly with a wide range of emotional issues. The theoretical rationale for this may be formulated as follows: an individual whose valency pattern leads him to express a certain

emotional modality readily and to feel most comfortable when this modality is predominant in the group culture may be thought of as a spokesman for that particular modality. As spokesman he might be expected to introduce that affective mode into the group and to attempt to influence the group as a whole to move into or to maintain this culture or to terminate cultures that may be antithetical to it. If the group includes spokesmen for emotional cultures opposed to each other, for example, dependency and counterdependency, then both these needs are likely to be expressed overtly in the group. Moreover, the way in which this problem is eventually dealt with is likely to be settled by means of interaction between these spokesmen. If spokesmen for only one end of the dependency–counterdependency continuum appear in the group, then only that affective mode would be expressed overtly and, since there is no one to express opposition to it, the group is likely to accept this mode implicitly as its standard.

Our prediction, then, is that a group that includes a wide range of valency types will deal more explicitly with a wider range of emotional issues. A group whose range of valency types is narrower will deal with a more restricted range of emotional issues, and it will tend to deal with them in a less explicit way. If this is true, it follows that a group of the first type will provide opportunities for a wider range of learnings than will a group of the second type.

In the chapters that follow, some of the relationships indicated above are tested empirically. The first study, performed by John C. Glidewell, assesses the over-all valency characteristics of unselected groups and tests predicted relationships between the valency pattern and their solutions to problems (Chapter 13). The second study, conducted by Ida Gradolph, composes and compares processes of small laboratory groups that are homogeneous but different from one another with respect to valency type. These groups are then compared with heterogeneously composed groups (Chapter 14). The third study, conducted by Morton Lieberman, composes two training groups that differ in the range of valency types included in their membership (Chapter 15).

These studies represent two approaches to the problem of group composition, although both make use of the same basic concepts. The first assesses consequences of different valency characteristics of unselected groups; the second and third compose groups experimentally and study the influence of varying composition on task approach and individual change. In both approaches, the attempt is to test the feasibility of defining group composition in valency terms. The over-all valency characteristics of the groups were determined in two ways: (1) by summing individual valency score patterns from the RGST (Glidewell); and (2) by identifying the predominant valency of individuals and then composing groups of individuals with these known valencies (Gradolph and Lieberman). It is shown that groups with valencies for a particular emotional modality do exhibit problem-solving and emotional characteristics that are consistent with assumptions made about the psychological character of that modality. This demonstrates that the concept of valency, worked out for individuals, may also be applied to groups.

CHAPTER XIII

Work-Emotionality Characteristics of the Total Group and Their Relation to Group Problem Solving

In this research John Glidewell[1] assessed the over-all valency characteristics of unselected groups and studied their relationships to certain problem-solving characteristics. This research was done with the support of the United States Air Force.[2] Thus, it was independent of the ONR-NTL project and also predated most of the work reported in this monograph. Because it was the first attempt by anyone associated with the Human Dynamics Laboratory to deal with the problem of composition in valency terms, and because of its relation to later research, a brief summary of this study is included here. The summary that follows is taken from Chapter IX of Glidewell's dissertation.

Problem. The experiment was designed to test the hypothesis that differences in the qualities of the products of problem-solving groups can, to a significant extent, be accounted for by differences in the emotional dynamics of the interaction within the groups.

Theory. The hypothesis and the design of the experiment grew out of a theory of group emotionality initiated by W. R. Bion at the Tavistock Institute and further developed and tested by Herbert A. Thelen and his associates at the Human Dynamics Laboratory of the University of Chicago. Through this conceptual framework, groups can be differentiated with respect to emotional dynamics against three variables: (1) the characteristic emotionalized urges of the group *toward* one of four emotional modalities of group interaction: pairing, fight, dependency, and flight

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[1] Author: John C. Glidewell. See his "Group Emotionality and Productivity," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, 1953.

[2] This research was conducted under Contract AF 18(600)–5 with the Human Resources Research Institute, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.

("primary positive valency"); (2) the characteristic emotionalized ***inhibitions*** of the group of one of the four emotional modalities ("primary negative valency"); and (3) the characteristic system of controlling emotional urges as (*a*) labile acting out, (*b*) constriction, or (*c*) integration of emotionality and work. These three noncontinuous variables permitted the establishment of forty-eight hypothetical categories of groups, each having its associated pattern of expected product characteristics.

A method was developed for differentiating written group problem solutions (group products) along sixteen dimensions. These productivity variables were generally conceived as measures of (1) the range of ideas employed in problem solving, (2) the precision of application of the ideas to the specific problem situation, and (3) the emotional involvement in and commitment to the group problem solution.

Subjects. The subjects were 468 officers in thirty-six of the regularly constituted classroom groups of one of the schools of the Air University. Each group contained thirteen members, twelve students and an instructor. The members were assigned to the groups in a random manner, each group having similar distribution among members of educational background, age, intelligence, and social adjustment. Prior to the experiment, the groups had about forty-five hours experience together in various group activities.

Procedure. The subject groups were instructed to discuss and reach a decision on each of four hypothetical problems, and to present a written plan of action to solve the problems. Each problem involved a situation in which the behavior of an Air Force officer violated an ethical standard.

At the end of a two-hour period, the written solutions were collected, and the group members completed a questionnaire and a sentence completion test designed to assess the emotional dynamics of the group.

Assessment. The assessment of group emotionality resulted in the sorting of the groups into twelve categories, each containing three groups, which were similar with respect to the central emotional dynamics operating in the group at the time of the experimental group sessions.[3]

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[3] Forty-eight kinds of groups characterized in these terms could hypothetically exist (all possible combinations of four primary positive valencies, four primary negative valencies, and three systems of control). Some of these can be eliminated as empirical possibilities because they are psychologically impossible or improbable. Of the remaining possibilities it is interesting that just twelve kinds of groups were found among the thirty-six studied:
There were three types in which the primary valency was for fight:

1. Positive valency for fight; no negative valency; labile
2. Positive valency for fight (with dependency); negative valency for pairing; labile
3. Positive valency for fight and work; negative valency for flight; integrative

There were two types in which the primary valency was for counterdependency (a primary positive valency for fight combined with a primary negative valency for dependency was considered evidence for counterdependency):

The assessment of group productivity resulted in scores along sixteen variables. The scores were determined by the judgment of four research technicians trained to apply a set of criteria in a reliable manner to the written group products.

Results. The results showed that the twelve categories of groups (characterized with respect to the three emotionality variables) produced significantly different group problem solutions as scored on eleven of the sixteen product variables. A summary of the results is shown in Table 28.

Table 28

A Summary of the Problem-Solving Characteristics of Groups of Varying Primary Valencies and Systems of Control

Primary emotional valency	*System of emotional control*		
	Labile	*Constrictive*	*Integrative*
Fight	Average range of ideas Loose organization Emotionally cathartic Moderate specificity Some attention to causation Moderate acceptance of responsibility for action	Wide range of ideas Rigid organization Emotionally repressive Moderate specificity Much attention to causation Responsibility for action shifted to authority	Widest range of ideas Flexible organization Emotionally expressive Most specific Most attention to causation Most acceptance of responsibility for action
Counter-dependency	Average range of ideas Loose organization Moderate specificity Emotionally cathartic Little attention to causation		Wide range of ideas Flexible organization Somewhat overgeneralized Emotionally expressive

4. Positive valency for fight; negative valency for dependency; labile
5. Positive valency for fight and work; negative valency for dependency; integrative

There were two types in which the primary valency was for dependency:

6. Positive valency for dependency; negative valency for flight; labile
7. Positive valency for dependency and work; negative valency for fight; integrative

There were four types in which the primary valency was for flight:

8. Positive valency for flight; negative valency for dependency; labile
9. Positive valency for flight; negative valency for pairing; labile
10. Positive valency for flight and work; negative valency for fight; integrative
11. Positive valency for flight (with work); negative valency for pairing; constrictive (The particular kind of flight involved here was immobilization)

There was one type in which the primary valency was for pairing:

12. Positive valency for pairing (with work); negative valency for flight; constrictive.

Table 28—Continued

Primary emotional valency	*System of emotional control*		
	Labile	*Constrictive*	*Integrative*
	Responsibility for action left indeterminate		Average attention to causation High acceptance of responsibility for action
Dependency	Narrow range of ideas Rigid organization Very specific solutions Emotionally constricted Least attention to causation Responsibility for action shifted to authority		Moderate range of ideas Flexible organization Moderate specificity Emotionally constricted Average attention to causation Moderate acceptance of responsibility for action
Flight	Narrow range of ideas Loose organization Overgeneralized solutions Emotionally constricted Little attention to causation Responsibility shifted to authority	Moderate range of ideas Rigid organization Specific solutions Highly constricted Much attention to causation High acceptance of responsibility for action	Moderate range of ideas Rigid organization Moderate specificity Emotionally constricted Average attention to causation Moderate acceptance of responsibility for action

CONCLUSIONS

General. The general hypothesis of the experiment was confirmed: The differences in the qualities of the products of problem-solving groups are, to a significant extent, related to the dynamic tendencies of the members in the different groups.

Specific. Eleven of the sixteen hypothesized differences in the qualities of group products associated with particular emotional dynamics were confirmed. A summary of these specific differences is shown in Table 28.

It is possible, in a general way, to draw some conclusions about the differences in the qualities of the products of groups having different (1) primary emotional valencies and (2) systems of emotional control, where one of the two variables remains constant.

When the system of emotional control is constant, groups with a primary valency to *fight* differ from the others in their ability to dig into a problem, to raise issues, and to settle them in one way or another. Their products show the widest range of ideas employed in problem solution, a high level of specificity within a flexible organization, much attention to causation, and a high amount of emotional involvement and commitment to act on their proposed solutions.

Groups with a primary positive valency to fight and a primary negative valency to dependency (*counterdependency* groups) show much similarity to the fight groups, but their products reflect less specificity, less attention to causation, and less commitment to act on their proposed solutions. They, nevertheless, show more attention to causation and more commitment to action than do the dependency and flight groups.

Groups with a primary positive valency to *dependency* show a tendency to confine themselves to what they believe to be the ideas approved by the authority (the leader or some other authority figure). Their products show a narrow range of ideas, a high degree of specificity within a rigid organization, little attention to causation, and little emotional involvement in or commitment to act on their proposed solutions.

Groups with a primary positive valency to *flight* show a tendency to avoid digging into a problem. The products show a narrow range of ideas, overgenerality within a rigid organization, little attention to causation, and little emotional commitment to act on their proposed solutions.

When the primary emotional valency is constant, groups with an *integrative* system of control differ from the others in their ability to create and organize their ideas into a flexible but specific solution. Their products show a wider range of ideas, more specific solutions, more attention to causation, and more involvement in and commitment to their proposed solutions. The products of integrative groups tend to show an organization that is neither rigid nor loose in the extreme.

Groups with a *constrictive* system of control tend to operate with a reduced scope of action. Their products show a moderate range of ideas, specific solutions within a rigid organization, much attention to causation but little involvement in or commitment to their proposed solutions.

Groups with a *labile* system of control tend to lack a realistic organization through which to channel their strong feelings. Their products show a narrow range of ideas, overgeneralized solutions within a loose organization (except products of dependency groups), little attention to causation, and in spite of a fairly strong emotional involvement, an avoidance of responsibility for taking action on the problem solutions they recommend.

CHAPTER XIV

The Task Approach of Groups of Single-Type and Mixed-Type Valency Compositions[1]

THE STUDY reported here is an exploratory investigation of the possible relationships between group composition and certain operating characteristics of the total group. Four six-member groups were examined: one was composed entirely of members whose affective approach was work-pairing; the second was composed entirely of members whose affective approach was flight. In the remaining two groups half the members were work-pairing and half were flight persons. The groups were presented with identical tasks and compared for ways of dealing with the problem, the kind of affect expressed, and the general nature of the group culture.

"The Reactions to Group Situations Test" was administered to a population of approximately thirty adults who comprised the membership of the 1953 Workshop in Community Group Relations. These tests were carefully analyzed and six persons were selected whose most characteristic affective approach to dealing with group situations could be described as "flight." Six others were selected who could be described primarily as "work-pairing." These twelve persons were the subjects for the study. They were formed into four groups of six persons each. Each subject participated in two groups.

Group A included six persons whose most characteristic affective approach was work-pairing.

Groups C and D each included three work-pairing persons and three flight persons.

Group B included six persons whose most characteristic affective approach was flight.

The same two tasks were presented to all groups:

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[1] This study was conducted by Ida Gradolph.

a. Group-choice task:[2] Six or eight objects (theater tickets, a portfolio of prints, etc.) were placed before the group members and they were asked to decide, as a group, which of the objects they would like to have. They were assured that the object they chose would belong to them. After the choice had been made the members were asked to decide what should be done with the object that they now owned as a group. (All groups performed the same task but two different sets of objects were used: one set for Groups A and B and one for Groups C and D.)

b. TAT story:[3] The groups were asked to make up a story about a large picture that showed a number of persons sitting together in an informal setting.

The same two observers watched all four groups. In comparing groups A and B the observers noted the following differences:

1. The flight group came to a decision much more quickly.
2. In the group-choice task, the work-pairing group began by finding out which object each person in the group preferred; the flight group did not get this information from its members.
3. The flight group required much prompting; the work-pairing group spontaneously disposed of the object they chose without being asked to do so.
4. The work-pairing group expressed more affect of all kinds.
5. The work-pairing group selected an object that could be divided equally among the members; the flight group selected an object that they disposed of by presenting it to someone outside their group.
6. The flight group dispersed immediately; the work-pairing group stayed around to discuss the experience and indicated an interest in hearing the tape.
7. The flight group in general seemed less interested in the task and more apathetic.
8. To the TAT picture, the flight group told a story of a group of high-level politicians in a smoke-filled room making high-powered decisions. The work-pairing group saw the same picture as a group of friends planning a fishing trip, and one member felt that they would have liked to go along.

In comparing the homogeneously composed groups with the mixed groups the observers noted that

1. Neither of the mixed groups completed the second task.
2. The mixed groups appeared to feel more frustrated and angry.

The two homogeneously composed groups exhibited characteristics consistent with their valency compositions. The members of the flight group were less committed to the task and also less involved with one another. Interaction was for the sake of getting it over with rather than for the sake of making the best decision that satisfied everybody. In general, they put less affect into the situation. These impressions of the total group are consistent with the flight characteristics of the individual members. By selection, each of these persons characteristically approached group situations with relative indifference and lack of involvement; with perhaps token interest in the task but a general unwillingness to get too closely involved with others, to express feelings too readily, etc. The experiment suggests that when such persons are placed in a group where no other valency type exists, the valency characteristics of the individual in effect become the unopposed standards of the group as a whole, and the flight tendencies find uninhibited expression.

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[2] This procedure was developed by RAND Corporation.

[3] This procedure was developed by Murray Horwitz and Dorwin Cartwright. See Murray Horwitz and Dorwin Cartwright, "A Projective Method for the Diagnosis of Group Properties," *Human Relations,* VI, 4, 1953, 397–410.

Similarly, the findings for the work-pairing group are consistent with the work-pairing characteristics of the individual members. For the group as a whole the observers found greater expression of affect, greater involvement in the task, an interest in examining the experience, and the distribution of the selected object so that each person could have an equal share. The TAT story they tell is about persons who feel friendly toward one another and whom they would like to join. All these are reasonable expectations from members who individually are work-oriented, able to establish friendly relationships with others, and able to express warmth readily.

It is interesting to note that the pairing group did not express more pairing and the flight group more flight. Rather, the pairing group expressed more affect of all sorts than did the flight group. Either the flight group had less affect available to invest in the group situation or it was more inhibited. It is also interesting to notice that both groups disposed of the object they chose in a way that did not require differentiating among their own members: the work-pairing group by sharing equally and the flight group by giving the object to someone outside their group. Each of these methods of disposition is again consistent with what one could assume about the valency types making up the two groups. We might speculate that it would take a fight or dependency group to dispose of the object to a particular member.

In comparing the homogeneous and mixed groups the major impression is that the mixed groups had more difficulty with the tasks: neither completed the second task within the time limit and both expressed frustration and anger. A suggested explanation is that because the membership included two at least partially opposed valency types the mixed groups were, in fact, incompatible. Possibly what was missing was a liaison person, someone who had some sympathy for both approaches and could provide a bridge between the flight and work-pairing members.

This exploratory study lends support to the general hypothesis under consideration: that groups so composed do exhibit differences in culture, atmosphere, and other characteristics that seem related to the nature of their composition. The suggestion is that in the case of homogeneously composed groups the standards that emerge may reflect individual characteristics directly, perhaps because these individual tendencies are unchecked by the presence of other tendencies. It is as though the standards were the result of an additive process rather than of a process of mutual testing, opposing, and eventual resolution. If this much is true it is likely that the kind of opportunity a person has to express his own needs is different in a group whose culture supports him than in a group whose culture does not.

In interpreting the differences between the homogeneous and the mixed groups it may be important to note that the homogeneously composed groups met first. This meant that by the time the mixed groups met all members had had some experience with the two tasks and may have formed some loyalties to the first two groups. From the data available in the present study it is impossible to assess just what effect this may have had.

On the basis of these suggestive findings, Gradolph plans to conduct an expanded study that will (1) compare groups homogeneously composed with respect to different affective approach types; (2) compare groups composed of one affective approach type with groups composed of two affective approach types; and (3) compare the behavior of the same members when they are a part of homogeneous and mixed groups. The "experience" factor mentioned above will be controlled. It is expected that this larger study will provide further information about the influence of valency composition on group operation, and about the operation of particular affective approach types in different group-compositional settings.

CHAPTER XV

The Influence of Group Composition on Changes in Affective Approach[1]

Training groups may vary in composition with respect to the kinds and range of valency types included among their membership. Since the problems dealt with in training groups are not imposed from the outside but are the product of the needs and interests of the members, we would expect the nature of the composition to influence group events rather directly. Variations in composition may influence the kinds and range of problems with which the group deals, its manner of dealing with them, and the solutions it achieves. If groups of different compositions offer their members different kinds of experiences, it follows that they also constitute different kinds of learning environments. That is, the kinds of change that may occur in individual members may be expected to be influenced and limited by the nature of the group composition.

In the present study the general hypothesis was explored that group composition influences the kinds of change that occur in individual members. This hypothesis was investigated through the study of two training groups of 16 and 14 members. These groups were experimentally composed of members each of whom possessed a clear-cut predisposition for expressing a *single* modality in preference to all others. That is, in the case of each member, his most characteristic affective approach consisted of a single modality: fight, flight, dependency, counterdependency, or pairing. Group I was composed so as to include only the first four of these affective approach types; Group II included all five. With respect to their valency composition, then, the groups differed in two ways: (1) Group II included pairing members, while Group I did not; and (2) Group II included a wider range of affective approach types.

In examining the influence of these differences in composition on individual change, the following specific questions were explored:

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[1] This study was conducted by Morton A. Lieberman.

1. *Do members of the two groups show different degrees of change?*
2. *Do members of the same affective approach type show different* degrees *of change, depending on the total group context in which they are operating?*
3. *Do members of the two groups differ with respect to the affective areas in which change occurred?*
4. *Do members of the same affective approach type show different* patterns *of change, depending on the total group context in which they are operating?*

General Procedure: The "Reactions to Group Situations Test[2] was administered to a population of approximately 120 persons about two months before they were to participate in a three-week training laboratory conducted by the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, during the summer of 1954. From these data the most characteristic affective approach of each individual was assessed and two training groups were composed, as follows: Group I included 5 flight members, 3 fight members, 4 dependency, and 4 counterdependency members. Group II included 4 flight members, 2 fight, 2 dependency, 3 counterdependency, and 3 pairing members. (The composition of these groups is shown tabularly in Table 2, p. 36.)

Each group met daily with a training leader and training associate for a total of fifteen two-hour sessions. Each subject also participated in additional training activities, which included lectures and demonstrations on relevant theory, skill practice sessions, and so on. The training group experience is presumed to have the greatest influence on the kind of change measured in this study.

About five months after the close of the training experience the RGST was administered a second time to the members of the two experimentally composed groups. Returns were received for all but two of these (one of the flight members of each group failed to return the test).

All pre- and post-RGST protocols were scored according to the procedure described in Chapter 6. For the purposes of this study the following two of the three scoring dimensions were used:

a. Acceptance or nonacceptance of the emotionality presented in the stimulus item. (Only the 28 test items that present a specific stimulus are scored on this dimension. In the score summary form shown in Figure 1 the number of items accepted for each of the emotional categories is to be entered in Column 1.)

b. Affect covertly or overtly introduced into the response. (All 44 test items are scored on this dimension. In the score summary form, affect that

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[2] This test is described in detail on pp. 51–56.

Emotional modality	*Administration*	*Accept (1)*	*Covert (2)*	*Overt (3)*	*Total (4)*
Pairing	pre				
	post				
Fight	pre				
	post				
Dependency	pre				
	post				
Flight	pre				
	post				
Work	pre				
	post				
Counter-dependency *	pre				
	post	—			
E *	pre				
	post	—			

* The test does not include specific stimulus items for these two categories. E refers to responses that indicate immobilization.

Figure 1. Score Summary Form for Pre- and Postadministrations of the Reactions to Group Situations Test for a Single Subject.

is introduced covertly is to be entered in Column 2; affect introduced overtly is to be entered in Column 3.)

The sums of Columns 1, 2, and 3 for each modality provide an over-all indication of the extent to which the individual utilizes that emotional category. These sums are to be entered in Column 4 of the score summary.

The data for this study thus consisted of the score patterns of the pre- and postadministrations of the RGST for 15 members of Group I and 13 members of Group II.

Each of the questions presented at the beginning of this chapter will be discussed in turn. In every case we will begin by indicating the statistical operations required in order to deal with the question, and then summarize the relevant findings.

1. *Do members of the two groups show different degrees of change?*

In order to answer this question it was necessary to assess the extent of change for each of the members of Groups I and II. An inspection of the score summary form shows that 19 score frequencies (corresponding to the 19 cells exclusive of the totals column) are available for each administration of the test. For each member, these pre- and postscores were correlated by means of the Pearson Product Moment procedure. The pre- and posttraining *r*'s for each member of Groups I and II are shown in Table 29. Members are listed in rank order (Rank 1 = lowest correlation or greatest amount of change). Each member's affective approach type is also shown.

Table 29

CORRELATION BETWEEN PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS OF THE REACTIONS TO GROUP SITUATIONS TEST FOR THE MEMBERS OF TWO TRAINING GROUPS

Group I				*Group II*			
Member	*Affective approach*	*Rank*	*r*	*Member*	*Affective approach*	*Rank*	*r*
7	FI	1	.23	16	D	1	.48
1	F	2	.26	3	CD	2	.63
6	D	3	.55	13	CD	3	.71
13	D	4	.64	15	FI	4	.73
11	D	5	.70	10	CD	5	.76
16	F	6	.70	1	FI	6	.77
2	D	7	.71	7	P	7	.77
14	FI	8	.72	8	F	8	.77
4	CD	9	.85	14	FI	9	.78
17	FI	10	.85	4	F	10	.79
9	F	11	.85	5	D	11	.81
8	FI	12	.86	18	P	12	.81
18	CD	13	.87	6	P	13	.89
5	CD	14	.89				
15	CD	15	.93				

It will be seen from Table 29 that the range of change in Groups I and II is approximately the same, although two members of Group I change more than any member of Group II. Correlations of approximately .79 or above cannot be assumed to represent change in the individual, since this degree of change may be an effect of the measuring instrument.[3] It will be seen that in Group I, 8 of the 15 members show some change in affective approach; and that in Group II, 9 of the 13 members show change. Thus the groups are generally comparable in the *extent* of change in individual members.

2. *Do members of the same affective approach type show different* degrees *of change, depending on the total group context in which they are operating?*

Table 29 shows that the counterdependent members of Group I tend to be among those who change least, while the counterdependent members of Group II tend to be among those who change most.[4] The other affective approach types do not appear to differ markedly from group to group.

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[3] In order to establish test-retest reliability the RGST was administered twice, at intervals of at least three weeks, to ten subjects who were not participating in a training group or any comparable experience. These protocols were scored and the two score patterns of each subject were correlated. These two *r*'s were found to range from .79 to .91. The mean correlation was .84.

In order to explain this finding it is useful to draw on additional data about the counterdependent members. From other studies[5] we know that the counterdependent members of Group I were consistently seen as the "major spokesmen" for the group; while in Group II various types were seen as major spokesmen. Roughly twice as many counterdependency statements were made in Group I as in Group II. This information suggests that the counterdependency members of Group I may have actively and persistently expressed counterdependency during the group meetings; while the counterdependency members of Group II either had less opportunity to express counterdependency and/or more opportunity to experiment with other modes of expression. Another way of saying this is that the counterdependency members of Group I were more bound to their most characteristic affective approach; while the members of Group II were more free in this respect. If this is true, one would expect the counterdependency members of Group I to have less opportunity to change.

3. *Do members of the two groups differ with respect to the affective areas in which change occurred?*

In order to investigate this question it was necessary to identify the kinds of changes that occurred for each member. With this information available it was possible to compare the two groups in two ways: (1) with respect to the modality areas in which changes tended to occur; and (2) with respect to the kinds of changes exhibited by the most and least change members of both groups. We will present the relevant data first, and then discuss both kinds of comparisons.

The first step in these comparisons was the identification of the change patterns of each individual. As was indicated in the score summary form, there were 19 subscores for each RGST protocol. The pattern of changes for each individual was identified by computing the differences between each pre- and postscore. (Thus if an individual accepted five fight items in the pretest and only two in the posttest, his change score with respect to acceptance of fight was —3.) Thus each individual could be characterized in terms of a particular pattern of change scores (for example, a particular individual might show an increase in overt fight, a decrease in the acceptance of pairing, no change with respect to dependency, etc.)

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[4] In order to be sure that these differences were not the effect of initial differences between the counterdependent members of Group I and of Group II, a t test was performed between the mean score pattern of the pretests of the two groups of members. T was found to be .59, significant at the .50–.60 level. Similar t tests comparing the initial score patterns of the dependence, fight, and flight members of the two groups gave t values significant at the .30–.50 level. It was concluded that the members of corresponding affective approach types could have been drawn from the same population and were initially comparable.

[5] These same two groups were studied from different points of view in Chapters 5 and 8. Chapter 8 includes information about the sociometric choice patterns of the members; Chapter 5 identified their perceptions of own role and of the total group. Some behavioral data are also presented in Chapter 5. Findings of these studies relevant to the present problem are discussed here.

a. The modality areas in which change tended to occur for the members of Groups I and II. Table 30 lists the number of persons in each group for whom each kind of change occurred.

Table 30

A COMPARISON OF THE CHANGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEMBERS OF GROUPS I AND II *

		Group I		*Group II*	
Score category		*Number of members who increase*	*Number of members who decrease*	*Number of members who increase*	*Number of members who decrease*
Fight	Accept	1	1	1	1
	Overt	7	3	3	4
	Covert	4	3	6	3
Flight	Accept	1	0	2	1
	Overt	0	1	1	1
	Covert	1	4	3	2
Pairing	Accept	0	0	0	0
	Overt	6	1	0	4
	Covert	1	0	0	0
Dependency	Accept	0	0	0	0
	Overt	3	2	1	1
	Covert	4	2	2	1
Counter-dependency	Overt	1	1	1	2
	Covert	3	2	1	2
Immobilization	Overt	0	0	0	0
	Covert	0	0	0	0
Work	Accept	1	0	0	0
	Overt	4	6	5	7
	Covert	0	0	0	0

* Only change scores of 3 or more appear in this summary table. Certain individuals may appear more than once since most persons showed change in more than one scoring category.

Table 30 indicates that some changes occur with respect to all modalities in both groups. However, the two groups differ with respect to the areas in which change is concentrated.

The changes that occur in Group I tend to be concentrated in the areas of fight and dependency-counterdependency. In these areas, all possible changes occur, but the most frequent change with respect to fight involves an increase in the overt expression of fight; the most frequent change with respect to dependency-counterdependency involves an increase in the covert expression of dependency.

In Group II the changes tend to be concentrated in the fight-flight area. The most frequent change with respect to fight involves an increase in covertly expressed fight; with respect to flight there is a general increase in the acceptance and expression of flight.

The two groups also differ with respect to pairing: in Group I the overt expression of pairing tends to increase; in Group II it tends to decrease.

b. The kinds of change exhibited by the most and least change members of Groups I and II. Each member of the two groups exhibited a change pattern unique to himself. However, an inspection of the change characteristics of the most and least change members of Groups I and II indicated that members within these four subgroups shared certain change characteristics. The characteristics held in common are summarized in Table 31.

Table 31

THE CHANGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOST- AND LEAST-CHANGE MEMBERS OF GROUPS I AND II

Group	*Members*	*Commonly held change characteristics*
I	Most change (7, 1, 6)	Change occurs with respect to dependency, work, and fight: increase in overt F; decrease in acceptance of work and overt expression of work; decrease in acceptance of D and increase in covert expression of D.
	Least change (15, 5, 8)	Change occurs with respect to dependency and counterdependency: tend to increase generally in D and in the covert expression of CD.
II	Most change (16, 3, 13)	Change occurs with respect to work and fight: decrease in overt W and overt F.
	Least change (5, 18, 6)	Change occurs with respect to fight and pairing: increase in covert F and tend to decrease in overt P.

Our discussion of these findings is frankly speculative and makes use of observers' impressions of the two groups.

Group I, throughout its existence, dealt overtly and persistently with authority problems without ever reaching a solution. Much aggressiveness and frustration accompanied its concern over this issue. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that this concentration on problems of authority relationships led to a focusing of many members' attention on their own dependency, counterdependency, and fight feelings and tendencies. The concentration of change in these areas is thus consistent with the general character of the group interaction. The members of Group I who changed most showed an increase in the expression of fight and decrease in the acceptance and expression of work. At the same time they were less able to accept dependency and came to express dependency more covertly. This suggests that the dependency needs of these members were "driven underground" by the nature of the group interaction, and that tendencies toward destructive fight were released. This can be seen as a reaction to the aggressive, competitive group atmosphere. As was pointed out under Question 2, it is possible that the personal tendencies of the counterdependency members (who tended to change least) were so appropriate to the general group atmosphere that there was no stimulation to act differently. Such changes as do occur involve the increased expression of dependency and an increase in covert counterdependency. This may indicate an increased preoccupation with the D-CD dimension, with no real change.

The observers report that Group II discussed a wider range of problems and dealt with authority relationships largely on an implicit level. We know from behavioral ratings (reported in Chapter 5) that much more pairing was expressed in Group II than in Group I. In Group II, changes in affective approach tended to be concentrated in the areas of fight and flight: more specifically, there is a general increase in the expression of flight and in covertly expressed fight. A very tentatively suggested explanation is that prevalence of expressions of pairing and of pressures toward greater intimacy may have been threatening to many members of the group, and that they may have responded to this atmosphere by increased withdrawal and by covertly expressed hostility.

4. *Do members of the same affective approach type show different* patterns *of change in the two groups?*

A factor analysis was performed on each of the training groups in order to identify similarities and differences among members with respect to their patterns of change. It was expected that members of a particular affective approach type might also be similar in the ways in which they changed, and that the character of the group composition might influence the direction of change for specific affective approach types. The results of the factor analyses showed that so simple a relation between character of change and affective approach type did not exist. When change was examined in very specific terms it was found that considerable variation existed within affective approach types and that there were complicated relationships among types. Because characteristic change patterns could not be identified for the various affective approach types, Question 4, as stated, could not be dealt with.

It is possible that one could identify more order in change patterns if one categorized members not according to affective approach (which represents behavioral tendencies) but according to basic concern (which represents areas in which the members experience conflict). We assume that the same affective approach may be associated, in different individuals, with a variety of culture preferences and areas of concern. For example, two persons may be similar in that their most characteristic affective approach is fight. But one fight person may express fight in conjunction with pairing; he may prefer group situations of relative freedom for the expression of both negative and positive feelings and be relatively without conflict about his fight impulses. Our second hypothetical fight person may be disturbed by his own aggressiveness and prefer well-controlled group situations. The problem of controlling his fight impulses may be an underlying concern. In a specific training experience these two members could be expected to show different degrees and kinds of change.

In assessing specific kinds of change, then, the *relationship* between affective approach, culture preference, and basic concern may be particularly relevant.[6] Apparently attention to affective approach alone can identify broad change characteristics only.

SUMMARY

In this research the influence of two group compositions on changes in the affective approach of individual members was studied. It was found that group composition appeared to influence such change in two ways. First, the composition of the group influenced the kinds of members who did and did not change. The suggestion is that the members who do not change are those whose personal characteristics are so attuned to the prevailing group atmosphere that there is no pressure or opportunity to experiment with new behaviors. A second way in which group composition appears to influence change is with respect to the affective areas in which change occurs. Here, it seems that when a group deals primarily with a particular emotional issue, the attention of the members is focused on this issue and it becomes the area in which change occurs.

It was found impossible to identify specific change patterns for specific affective approach types. We conclude that change is related to valency pattern in a more complex manner; in understanding the particular kind of change that occurs, it appears necessary to take into account interrelationships among all aspects of valency: affective approach, culture preference, and basic concern.

[6] Lieberman is currently planning an extension of this study which will assess all three aspects of valency for each member and then relate change characteristics to total valency pattern.

Section III
Patterns of Change in Individuals and Groups

Part D
Readiness for and Characteristics of Individual Change

CHAPTER XVI

Readiness for and Characteristics of Individual Change: Introduction

There are many kinds of groups and they bring about many kinds of changes in individuals. In a therapy group, for example, the change striven for is deepening of personal insight. In a committee the change desired is toward decision and personal commitment to planned action. In a classroom the change is toward mastery of some area of skills, ideas, or attitudes.

Research at the Human Dynamics Laboratory has been done principally with training groups and we have therefore been particularly concerned with the sorts of individual changes ordinarily expected from such groups. Thus the kinds of changes we have studied represent only a limited sampling of the many kinds of changes possible as a result of experiences in groups.

The training group is a small one having 15 to 20 members, including a leader and, possibly, an associate leader. The group typically meets from 12 to 20 times. The group is brought together in order that members may learn about group operation and about their own behavior and feelings in a group situation. Discussion is exploratory, informal, and relatively free. The curriculum emerges from diagnosis of concerns revealed during discussion. The role of the leader is usually to suggest and interpret rather than to direct. These groups ordinarily deal with such problems as the identification of authority in the group, the nature of limits to expression of feeling, the manner of organization of efforts toward problem solving or decision making, etc. These kinds of problems are dealt with much more explicitly than in a group upon which specific task demands are imposed. For the training group-as-a-whole, the major purpose is to establish, through study of its problems, a set of agreements that will enable discussion to be profitable. For the individual, goals include: increased understanding of group operation; increased awareness of one's own roles, needs, and effects on others; and increased personal effectiveness in a group situation. It is assumed that these changes or learnings will lead to increased effectiveness in the back-home work situation; and this, rather than change per se, is the *raison d'être* for the training group.

The particular interests of the staff at the Human Dynamics Laboratory have led to an emphasis on research into changes with respect to personal characteristics (behavior, dynamics, self-percept).

The concepts of "individual valency" and "group culture," of central importance to the understanding of group phenomena, are also relevant to the problem of individual change. The following postulates seem most pertinent:

1. *Individual change will be accompanied by shifts in valency pattern.*
2. *The group culture can be seen as the context within which change takes place.*
3. *The nature of change is determined by the particular interaction between the individual's valency characteristics and the nature of the group culture.*

1. *Individual change in relation to shifts in valency pattern*

Valency, as a property of the individual, has three related aspects: affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern. As indicated in Chapter 3, affective approach is the individual's pattern of affective responses to generalized group cultures, and is most directly related to overt behavior. Culture preference summarizes the individual's evaluative (that is, like and dislike) reactions to the various work-emotionality cultures. Area of concern refers to the emotional problem areas in which there is mobilized a great deal of energy and/or anxiety in the individual. These three aspects of valency may be diagnosed by an observer or clinician. To some extent they are also available to the subject himself as the content of self-perceptions.

It is possible to imagine the independent occurrence of each of four kinds of change: affective approach (the way the individual behaves), culture preference (the kinds of group situations in which he prefers to operate), area of concern (the affective areas with which he is concerned or preoccupied or in conflict), or self-percept (the ways in which he thinks of his own operation in a group situation). More commonly, however, one would expect concurrent changes: change in affective approach accompanied by change in self-percept; change in area of concern accompanied by shifts in the preferred culture; etc.

The most rigorous and thorough understanding of change would take into account all four factors. For example, a change in affective approach (behavior) in one individual might reflect a strengthening of defenses against the awareness of some more basic conflict. A change in affective approach in another member might indicate an increased freedom to express certain affective needs. A change in self-percept might indicate temporary conformity to the standards of the training group, or it might represent a shift that is also reflected in complementary modifications in behavior and culture-preferences.

The "real meaning" of change is communicated as an interpretation of relationships among the four factors. Problems can be defined in such a way that one is interested in only one of these factors: only behavior, or only self-percept. But it is our feeling that a consideration of the dynamic relationship among all four factors is required, first to clarify the kind of change one really is talking about, and second to interpret the psychological meaning of the change for the individual.

2. *The group culture as the context within which individual change takes place*

According to our conceptual approach, the continuity of interaction in the total group can be described as a series of constantly shifting and alternating work-emotionality cultures. We assume that a training group is always engaged in work: that is, it is always engaged in some rationally definable activity involving planning, making, or acting on decisions, or the like. At the same time we assume that the group is moving through a succession of emotional phases in which the atmosphere may be dominated in turn by fight (hostility, attack), flight (withdrawal, silliness, irrelevance), pairing (warmth, feelings of relatedness), dependency (a wish to be led or directed), by certain combinations of these, or by transitional phases leading from one to another. At any given time the emotional aspects of the group's life have specific relationships to the work aspects of its operation. At times work may seem to be almost completely in abeyance and the group largely engulfed by its emotional preoccupations. At other times the emotional atmosphere and the affect expressed may seem to fit in constructively with the work activities and actually support and further the task goals of the group.

These various phases, combinations, and sequences of phases constitute a way of characterizing the ongoing group situation. Whatever change takes place in the individual results from the impact of these phases on him—the ways in which he participates in them and reacts to them.

3. *Change as an effect of interaction between the individual's valency characteristics and the nature of the group-cultural context*

It is possible that certain kinds of group environments are more conducive to change than others. We would imagine, for example, that in general more members are likely to have an opportunity to learn in a group that offers a wide variety of experiences to its members. In contrast, in a group where discussion is limited to one or a few issues, the possible learnings are more likely to be restricted. Another general characteristic of groups that may influence learning is the relative clarity or confusion of the group situation. It seems reasonable that under very confused conditions members would be less likely to learn because of the difficulty in understanding either what is going on or their own reactions to the situation.

Turning to the individual, it is likely that some persons are more ready to make use of a training experience for personal change than are others. In our terms, it is possible that certain affective approach types are more likely to change than others. It is also possible that affective approach type is not as relevant as the interrelations among affective approach, culture preference, and basic concern within the individual's total valency pattern. In the latter case we would expect such factors as extent of conflict, adequacy of defenses, rigidity or flexibility, etc., to be influential.

To understand change thoroughly in the case of any one individual, it is probably necessary to consider the *interaction* between total valency pattern and the nature of the group situation. A group-cultural situation that is a good learning environment for one individual may not be equally effective for another. For example, an individual whose valency pattern shows a strong need for external control or reliance on an authority figure (dependency) might simply be immobilized or driven into unproductive defensive maneuvers in a group where the leader denies or rejects his own authority. This same member might be very responsive to a group in which the designated leader supplies more structure and direction. What is meaningful and insight-producing to one member may be irrelevant or disturbing to another. It is possible to imagine the probable conduciveness to learning of many combinations of individual valency and group conditions.

In considering the problem of how and why change takes place for a particular individual, it appears that the interaction between individual valency and group culture can be viewed either macroscopically or microscopically.

The macroscopic or general approach involves assessing the over-all valency characteristics of the individual and the over-all work-emotionality characteristics of the group, and then predicting change in terms of the relationship between these two factors. Thus a group might be considered a potentially profitable experience for a certain member if it offers a range of experiences relevant to his problems, if it provides an atmosphere sufficiently permissive or protected (whatever he needs) to permit the member to experiment freely in his behavior, and if it offers opportunity for the member to look clearly at what he is doing and at the effects of his behavior on others. In contrast, a group is likely to provide an unprofitable learning experience if the situations that develop in the group are essentially irrelevant to the member's needs, or if they do not cover a sufficient range, or if they are so threatening that they preclude any experimentation or looking at the self.

A more microscopic and specific approach is required to trace the specific experiences and interactions that account for change in the individual. One would be required to look more concretely into the group experience, identifying those situations in which the individual was active and also those in which he did not participate but that can be assumed to be important to him. These psychologically meaningful situations could be systematically examined for the ways in which he responded, the range of his responses, his feelings of anxiety or adequacy communicated in his behavior, and any tendencies for his responses to change through time. On the basis of such data, dynamic interpretations guided by theory would make clear the particular way in which the personality and the environment interacted to produce the specific change.

Chapter 15, in the previous section, deals with changes in affective approach, one of the four specific change variables discussed above. In the present section, Chapter 18 investigates change in a second specific variable: self-perception. Chapter 17 approaches the problem of change from another point of view: here, Andrew G. Mathis attempts to develop a "trainability index" that will identify those who are and are not likely to profit from participating in a group of this type. In Chapter 19 a case study is presented (by Dorothy Stock) which attempts, from an analysis of projective data, to relate changes in affective approach, culture preference, and basic concerns in a single individual.

CHAPTER XVII

"Trainability" as a Function of Individual Valency Pattern[1]

"Trainability" is the potential of an individual to learn from a training experience. A promising lead for the study of trainability is offered by educators who have found that the more learners are personally and actively involved in obtaining knowledge and skill during the working out of problems, the greater is their learning and the more it will affect their subsequent behaviors.

The purpose of this research is to demonstrate that trainability, defined in terms of the individual's emotional orientation to group-work situations, is related to changes of behavior learned during a laboratory training experience; and further, that trainability is related to increased productivity on the job "back home."

The development of an instrument for measuring trainability was based on certain theoretical concepts: (1) the application of field theory as developed by Kurt Lewin to the individual in a psychological field; (2) observations about the relationship of emotionality and work, as formulated by W. R. Bion and elaborated by the staff of the Human Dynamics Laboratory at the University of Chicago.

From Lewin's concepts it was reasoned that internal conflict would stimulate an individual to search for solutions to problems arising through group interaction; that is, conflict would facilitate learning. From Bion's concepts it was reasoned that valency for pairing and fight would provide the individual with supportiveness and aggressiveness to enable him to move toward problem situations and interact personally with the problem. The existence of intrapersonal conflict plus tendencies toward free expression of fight and pairing were thus selected as adient characteristics, and as positive indicators for trainability.

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[1] Coauthor: Andrew G. Mathis. This study was conducted by Andrew G. Mathis, in co-operation with the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. The data utilized were part of a larger evaluation study concerned with the relation of personality to learning in groups, sponsored by the National Training Laboratories during the summer of 1952. The study presented here was thus independent of the project whose work is reported in this monograph. However, since it is very relevant to the problem of individual learning and change being considered in this section, it is summarized briefly here. For a full presentation, see Andrew G. Mathis, "Development and Validation of a Trainability Index for Laboratory Training Groups," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1955.

On the other hand, valencies for dependency and flight were considered to inhibit learning because they would deter the individual from becoming involved in the problem situation and from taking responsibility for actively experimenting with possible solutions. Tendencies toward becoming immobilized in stress situations would also block learning. Thus dependency, flight, and immobilization would be considered as abient characteristics, and as negative indicators for trainability.

DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF THE TRAINABILITY INDEX

It was proposed that trainability could be determined by the balance between adient and abient characteristics, and that an index of trainability might be simply the ratio of adient to abient indicators from the "Reactions to Group Situations Test." Previous studies with this test suggested that relative valencies for fight, pairing, dependency, and flight might be obtained as the number of times each of these valencies respectively was introduced in the responses to the 28 emotionally charged stimulus items. An estimate of conflict over each emotionality could be obtained from the balance of accepted to rejected stimuli keyed to each modality. And immobilization could be estimated from the number of times responses in the test gave signs of emotional blocking. Thus an index of trainability would be the sum of fight, pairing, and conflict responses divided by the sum of flight, dependency, and immobilization responses.

It was further seen that the validation of the trainability index and, more importantly, of the underlying interpretations of the role of emotionality in training, would require the collection of data on behavior and learning during the training experience, and on changes in productivity or accomplishment back home on the job.

Accordingly, data were collected from fifty persons attending either the 1952 National Training Laboratory in Group Development or the 1952 Chicago Workshop on Community Human Relations. Of these, the 10 having the lowest trainability index and the 10 having the highest were selected for intensive comparisons. The following data were secured:

1. Each trainee was interviewed before and after training, and again about a year after training. A long questionnaire paralleling the interview was sent to those who could not be reached for the follow-up interview.

Three sorts of changes were assessed from these data: (*a*) sensitivity, or skill in interpersonal relations; (*b*) sophistication,[2] or skill in task problem solving; and (*c*) productivity, or extent of innovation of new practices on the job.

2. Both before and after training, the "Reactions to Group Situations Test" was administered to provide a measure of change in the manner of integrating emotionality and work.

3. At the Laboratories, the trainers rated the observed behaviors of the trainees with respect to thirty categories. These categories were keyed both to sophistication and sensitivity on the one hand and to emotional modalities on the other.

4. Two sociometric inventories were administered during the third week of training, and one of these was also given during the first week so as to provide a measure of change with respect to several categories of interpersonal perception.

For comparison of the high and low trainability groups, it was necessary to develop procedures for rank-ordering the subjects with respect to the various dimensions of behavior incorporated in the above kinds of data.

HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

Hypothesis I: The trainability index will predict the ratio of adient to abient behaviors: (*a*) obtained from the trainers' ratings of the subjects' behaviors and (*b*) obtained from sociometric inventories showing how the subjects were perceived by their fellows in the group.

The correlation between trainability index and trainers' ratings was 0.58 (significant at 0.01 level); and between trainability index and perceptions of other members, 0.57 (significant at 0.05 level). The hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis II: The trainability index will be negatively related to the variable "assumed similarities between opposites." Research[3] with sociometric data had shown that successful team members, as compared with unsuccessful team members, differentiate more clearly between the behavioral characteristics of those whom they like and dislike; that is, they "assume fewer similarities between opposites."

The negative relationship was demonstrated by the chi square test (7.05, 2 degrees of freedom, significant at 0.05 level). The hypothesis is confirmed.

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[2] Sensitivity and sophistication were developed conceptually and defined operationally through previous work in the Laboratory, notably by Bettie Belk Sarchet and Joe McPherson.

[3] Fred E. Fiedler, "The Psychological-Distance Dimension in Interpersonal Relations," *Journal of Personality,* XXII, No. 1, September, 1953, 142–150.

Hypothesis III: The trainability index will predict the relative amount of interpersonal attraction felt for other members (and shown sociometrically).

The data show a trend in this direction, but it did not achieve significance (by a *t* test of difference between the means of high and low trainability groups). The hypothesis is not confirmed.

Hypothesis IV: The trainability index will predict increases during training with regard to sensitivity and sophistication (as assessed from the interviews).

Although the high trainability group showed more change than the low trainability group with respect to these variables, analysis of covariance failed to demonstrate a significant difference. The hypothesis is not confirmed.

Hypothesis V: The trainability index will predict increases during training with regard to integration of emotionality and work (assessed from the "Reactions to Group Situations Tests").

The increases in the high trainability group were significantly greater than in the low trainability group. (F for the posttest scores, following adjustment through analysis of covariance, was 6.62, which is significant at the 0.05 level.) The hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis VI: The trainability index will predict increase in the ability (*a*) to predict how others will rate themselves sociometrically, and (*b*) to predict how other members will rate one another sociometrically.

The (*a*) hypothesis was not upheld by statistical test.

The (*b*) hypothesis achieved significance (at the 0.05 level) and is confirmed. (Analysis of variance demonstrated that the low trainability group showed no gain; whereas the high trainability group showed significant gain.)

Hypothesis VII: The trainability index will predict extent of increased confidence of personal acceptance by other members of the group during training (as shown sociometrically).

The high trainability group mean increased significantly more than the mean of the low trainability group (by analysis of covariance achieved at the 0.05 level). The hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis VIII: The trainability index will predict rank order of sensitivity, sophistication, and productivity in the trainer-facilitator role following training. The follow-up interviews were coded for 12 categories regarding these variables. Correlation between trainability index and the total coded scores was 0.76 (significant at 0.01 level). The hypothesis is confirmed.

It was found, however, that there was a significant initial difference between the two groups with respect both to sensitivity and to sophistication. Thus the confirmation of the hypothesis is open to doubt. Accordingly, three specific hypotheses about relative *changes* in the two groups were tested:

First: that the high trainability group would report more accomplishments in the trainer-facilitator role than would the low trainability group. This was confirmed (by chi square test, significant at 0.05 level).

Second: that the high trainability group would perceive more personal growth and changes within themselves than would the low trainability group. This difference was in the predicted direction, but failed to achieve significance (by the chi square test).

Third: that, a year after training, the high trainability group would diagnose more specific and clearly defined obstacles to productivity than would the low trainability group. This was confirmed (by chi square test, significant at the 0.05 level).

As a final step, the rank on the trainability index was correlated with averaged rank on eight different behavior and change variables used as validating criteria. The correlation (rho) between these two rankings was 0.77 (significant at the 0.01 level). Hence, we conclude with some confidence that the basic hypothesis was correct: that the concept that trainability can be determined by the relationship between adient and abient emotionality (indicated in the "Reactions to Group Situations Test") is correct.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the major concern of this study was the development and validation of a theory for selecting individuals who are most trainable in laboratory training groups, we need to look again at this theory in the light of the results obtained.

First, the general hypotheses upon which the trainability index is based were borne out by the findings of this study. The individual who has conflict about emotionality in groups and whose emotionality is adiently oriented will learn and apply more from a laboratory training experience than will the individual who has little conflict about emotionality and whose emotionality is abiently oriented.

Second, the individual predicted to be adiently oriented from the "Reactions to Group Situations Test" will also be more sensitive and/or sophisticated, depending upon the balance of his pairing and fight valencies. (These tendencies emerged from case studies.) An above-average valency for fight seemed to be related to sophistication in problem solving; and an above-average valency for pairing was related to sensitivity and the ability to introspect and look critically at the self. The individual who is abiently oriented or who has a high valency for flight and dependency is not able to function as effectively in groups as is the adiently oriented individual.

There are several generalizations that can be drawn from this study about the assessment of emotionality and its relationship to productivity. The general assumption stated previously about emotionality and conflict in the emotional modalities has not been altered by this study; however, some additions and qualifications can be made in the light of the data.

a. Anxiety about emotionality, if too high, can make it very difficult for the individual to learn to channel emotionality into work. On the other hand, when an individual has high anxiety about emotionality but also has other competencies for group productivity, his anxiety can make for significant learning in the training group.

b. The high flight individual who is anxious about flight is not aware of his own emotional orientation; he has a low capacity to contribute to the group work task, and will gain little from laboratory training. Usually, but not necessarily, such individuals may also be dependent.

c. A very strong valency for fight needs to be examined closely in order to determine whether it means energy available for work or whether it will tend to be uncontrolled "acting out." The latter is more likely to be the case if many introduced fight statements are covert or bizarre in nature.

d. The interrelationships between pairing and dependency have not been given direct attention in this study, but the researcher became more aware of it as he attempted to interpret trainability. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a response scored as counterdependent emanates from hostility toward the father figure and the need for status, or whether it means that the individual is a self-reliant, capable person who has resolved his dependency conflict and is just expressing his individuality. This possible difference in meaning of a counterdependent response is important in assessing conflict. The researcher recognized that he was overlooking the possible differences in meaning of these responses when he assessed conflict simply on an accept and reject basis. Assessing conflict could be improved upon by assigning a qualitative code score for conflict rather than using the conventions for the number of emotional modality items accepted, as was done in this study.

The interrelationship of pairing and dependency comes to the fore when interpreting counterdependent responses. If it is apparent that the individual accepts pairing because of his own fears of being rejected and his need for belongingness, then it is likely that he has not resolved his dependency conflict; and if dependency or counterdependency were not too strong the conditions for emotional integration to take place would be present. However, if an individual's pairing responses indicated that he had no emotional deficiencies, that he was naturally and spontaneously supportive, then difficult counterdependent responses could more readily be interpreted as healthy expressions of individuality. The individual who has resolved his conflicts would be freed to give his energies to problems he encounters, rather than to feel impelled to make up for his own deficiencies. His potential for growth would be more outwardly oriented than the potentialities of the conflict-burdened individual.

We believe that the trainability index as developed here could well be used as a screening device for selecting trainees for laboratory training. Those applicants who are dependency-flight individuals and fall at the lower end of the trainability continuum and those individuals who make many bizarre responses on the "Reactions to Group Situations Test" may be unlikely to profit from laboratory training. On the other hand, it might be argued that the kinds of problems such persons present to the group contribute usefully to the training curriculum.

CHAPTER XVIII

Factors Associated with Changes in Self-Percept[1]

INDIVIDUALS may be influenced by their experiences in a training group in a variety of ways. One possible change is the way in which the member views his own role. That is, he may enter the group with certain more or less organized ideas about his own feelings and behaviors when in a group situation, and then be influenced by the experience to reorganize or shift this self-perceptual pattern. Such shifts in self-percept might have a variety of meanings for the individual: they might indicate greater awareness of his actual behavior or feelings; they might reflect changes in behavior or anxiety level; or they might constitute a temporary conformity to the group culture. In order to understand the function of change in self-percept for each individual, it is probably necessary to know how this change is related to other aspects of his personality.

In this study change in self-percept is dealt with as a single variable. It deals with the prior problems of whether or not changes in self-percept do occur during participation in a training group, and with the extent and nature of such change. It also attempts to identify the kinds of members who are and are not likely to show shifts in self-percept. These objectives are summarized in the following four questions:

1. *Do changes in self-percept in individual members occur during the course of a training group experience?*
2. *How much variation is there in degree of change from member to member?*
3. *What kinds of members do and do not change?*
4. *What is the nature of the change that occurs?*

Design: These questions were investigated through studying a single training group of twenty-nine members. This group had 3-hour weekly meetings over a period of twelve weeks. A self-perceptual Q-sort was administered to each member of the group at the first and final meetings of the training group. These Q-sorts measured the members' pre- and post-perceptions of their own feelings and behaviors when in a group situation. The Q-sort contained 90 descriptive statements. An equal number, 18, referred to each of the emotional modalities of dependency, counterdependency, pairing, fight, and flight. Within each modality category, one third of the statements indicated emotionality without respect to work, one third indicated emotionality supportive of work, and one third indicated emotionality antithetical to or destructive of work. This organization of the 90 descriptive statements is summarized in Table 32. The symbols used henceforth to refer to these categories are indicated.

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock.

Table 32

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SELF-DESCRIPTIVE Q-SORT

	Dependency (D), items	*Counter-dependency (CD), items*	*Pairing (P), items*	*Fight (F), items*	*Flight (Fl), items*	*Total, items*
Neutral with respect to work (N)	6	6	6	6	6	30
Supportive of work (S)	6	6	6	6	6	30
Destructive of work (D)	6	6	6	6	6	30
Total	18	18	18	18	18	90

A complete list of the Q-sort items is included in Appendix D, Part 1. The following sample illustrates the kinds of statements used in the sort:

PN	I'm inclined to make warm friends among group members.
PS	I try to suggest procedures which most members will feel comfortable with.
PD	I feel the group shouldn't discuss issues likely to divide the group.
FlN	I prefer keeping relations with others on an impersonal level.
FlS	I can work best if I maintain an objective attitude toward the group.
FlD	When the group can't seem to make progress I feel it should disband.
DN	I'm willing to follow the suggestions of other group members.
DS	I try to help establish a working routine for the group.
DD	I feel that others are better qualified to make suggestions to the group.
CDN	I play an active, influential role in the group.
CDS	I feel that group members can solve their own problems without help if they really want to.
FN	I tend to suggest alternative plans to those proposed by the leader.
CDD	When someone attacks me I fight back.

FS When someone makes an irresponsible suggestion I point it out.
FD I tend to question the decisions the group makes.

Each member was required to sort the 90 descriptive items into the following frequency distribution:

Least characteristic, not like me ←

→ *Most characteristic, most like me*

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Number of statements in category	1	2	3	5	7	10	11	12	11	10	7	5	3	2	1

Descriptions produced in this way permit one to characterize the emotional modalities and the kind of work most and least prominent in the individual's perception of himself. Scores giving his average rank for the various modalities and work levels can be computed. The fact that the self-perceptions are organized in a forced frequency distribution makes possible correlations between pairs of sorts—either two sorts of the same member administered at different times or self-descriptions of any two members. Both factor analysis and analysis of variance can be applied to these data.

Treatment of data and results: The data were dealt with in three ways:

1. Each member's presort was correlated with his postsort. These correlations are shown in Table 33.

Table 33

Correlations Between Pre and Post Self-Perceptual Q-sorts for Twenty-six * Members of a Training Group

Member number	*r*	*Rank*	*Member number*	*r*	*Rank*
29	.38	1	12	.63	13.5
14	.39	2	2	.64	15
5	.41	3	6	.66	16.5
21	.43	4	25	.66	16.5
4	.44	5	18	.68	18
24	.46	6.5	20	.70	19
10	.46	6.5	16	.71	20.5
3	.49	8	17	.71	20.5
7	.50	9	27	.72	22
13	.53	10.5	19	.73	23.5
1	.53	10.5	23	.73	23.5
11	.60	12	26	.74	25
15	.63	13.5	9	.78	26

* Of 29 original members, two dropped out early in the course of the group; a third was absent for the final meeting.

2. The seven members who changed most and the seven members who changed least were studied more intensively by means of analysis of variance. This procedure permits one to determine, first, the particular emotional modality or modalities and work level or levels that the individual sees as most and least characteristic of himself. For example, an individual may see himself as a constructive pairer (*P-S*), dependent (*D-N*), and deny withdrawal or irrelevancy (*Fl-N*). Second, the procedure permits one to determine whether pre-post changes have occurred with respect to the particular emotional modalities or work levels that the individual sees as most or least characteristic of himself. For example, a member may see himself as expressing more fight in the group; another member may see himself as expressing pairing, dependency, etc., to the same extent, but more constructively.

A separate analysis of variance was performed on each of these fourteen members. In every case, three variables were involved:

Emotional modality: *D, CD, P, F, Fl*
Work Level: *N, S, D*
Time: pre (T_1) and post (T_2)

These variables produce a $5 \times 3 \times 2$ analysis of variance in which one of the variables (time) is correlated. The results of these analyses are summarized in Tables 34 and 35. The *F* value for every variable and every interaction is given.

In interpreting these tables, a significant F value for modality indicates that the member makes an over-all distinction between modalities. That is, he generally tends to see certain modalities as characteristic of himself and certain others as not characteristic. A significant F value for work similarly indicates that the member sees certain work levels as characteristic and certain others as not characteristic. Significance for the interaction $M \times W$ means that specific modalities are associated with certain work levels and not with others.

In the interpretations to be made here from Tables 34 and 35, the interactions $M \times T$ and $W \times T$ are most relevant. A significant *F* value for the interaction $M \times T$ indicates that change occurs over time with respect to the emotional modality(ies) seen as most or least characteristic of the self. Similarly, a significant *F* value for the interaction $W \times T$ indicates that change occurs over time with respect to the kind of work seen as most or least characteristic of the self. Significance for the triple interaction $M \times W \times T$ means that there was a change in work level but only with respect to one or a few modalities; or it might mean that there was a change in the modality or modalities seen as characteristic of the self, but that this change occurred only for certain work levels.

Table 34

TABLE OF F VALUES * FOR THE SEVEN MOST-CHANGE MEMBERS OF A TWENTY-SIX-MEMBER TRAINING GROUP

	Member						
	29	*14*	*5*	*21*	*4*	*24*	*10*
Modality	**3.55**	**2.52**	1.47	.93	**2.64**	**2.94**	1.32
Work	**6.38**	**4.50**	.15	**4.78**	**4.58**	2.78	1.84
Time †	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M × W	.42	1.03	.30	.62	.65	.61	1.20
M × T	.21	.85	1.98	**2.53**	1.64	2.00	**2.68**
W × T	.28	2.64	.11	1.85	**3.52**	**3.90**	2.60
M × W × T	**2.52**	1.22	1.87	.81	1.11	**2.40**	.57

Table 35

TABLE OF F VALUES * FOR THE SEVEN LEAST-CHANGE MEMBERS OF A TWENTY-SIX-MEMBER TRAINING GROUP

	Member						
	9	*26*	*23*	*19*	*27*	*17*	*16*
Modality	**7.14**	**19.90**	**3.08**	**4.16**	**3.13**	**10.40**	**5.87**
Work	**5.53**	**12.70**	**11.02**	2.61	**15.40**	**4.60**	**12.50**
Time †	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M × W	.58	**2.50**	1.64	1.20	.25	.98	.24
M × T	1.07	1.75	**2.40**	2.24	.84	1.55	.60
W × T	.05	.88	1.71	.17	1.89	.40	.68
M × W × T	.64	.33	.51	1.53	.89	.45	.51

* F values in demibold type are significant at the .05 level. F values in bold type are significant at the .01 level.

† All entries for time as a single variable are zero. This is an artifact of the test used, the Q-sort. Since the frequency is forced and therefore the same for every sort, the sum of squares is always the same from pre to post and from member to member. F will therefore always be zero. Interpretations regarding change must be made from the interactions involving time.

3. Independent factor analyses were performed on the following populations:

I: The seven most-change members (presorts only)
II: The seven least-change members (presorts only)

The data yielded three factors for each of these populations. The rotated factor loadings are shown in Table 36.

Table 36

ROTATED FACTOR MATRICES * OF THE SEVEN MOST-CHANGE AND THE SEVEN LEAST-CHANGE MEMBERS (PRESORTS)

Most-change members				*Least-change members*			
	Factor				*Factor*		
Member	*A*	*B*	*C*	*Member*	*x*	*y*	*z*
29	.17	.03	**.58**	9	**.30**	**.68**	–.12
14	.15	.05	**.44**	26	**.75**	–.04	.14
5	**.49**	.14	–.02	23	**.60**	.17	–.09
21	.09	**.39**	.17	19	**.37**	–.16	**.49**
4	.17	**.41**	.07	27	**.51**	**.55**	–.12
10	**.58**	–.01	.13	16	**.53**	–.11	**.68**
24	**.58**	–.17	.15	17	**.88**	.10	–.01

* Significant factor loadings are in demibold type.

Table 37

MOST- AND LEAST-CHANGE MEMBERS GROUPED ACCORDING TO SIGNIFICANT FACTOR LOADINGS

Member	*Significant loadings on factor*	*Member*	*Significant loadings on factor*
10, 24, 5	A	17, 26, 23	X
21, 4	B	9, 27	XY
29, 14	C	16, 19	XZ

The modality and work level characteristics of each of the subgroups are presented in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.[2] In these graphs the bar appearing above the mid-line indicates the degree to which that category is represented among the items most characteristic for the factor grouping. The bar appearing below the mid-line indicates the degree to which that category is represented among the items least characteristic for the factor grouping. For ease of interpretation, the modality and work characteristics of each subgroup are presented in two different graphs.

Discussion of Results: The results throw some light on the four questions with which we began:

1. *Do changes in self-percept in individual members occur during the course of a training group experience?*
2. *How much variation is there in degree of change from member to member?*

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[2] The most and least characteristic statements of any given factor grouping are obtained by combining the individual sorts of members with "pure" loadings on that factor. Each individual sort is weighted according to the magnitude of its factor loading. This procedure yields a new factor array in which every item in the sort possesses an average rank. In constructing the graphs, the ranks of all most characteristic items were summed separately for each modality and shown above the mid-line; the ranks of all least characteristic items were summed separately for each modality and shown below the mid-line.

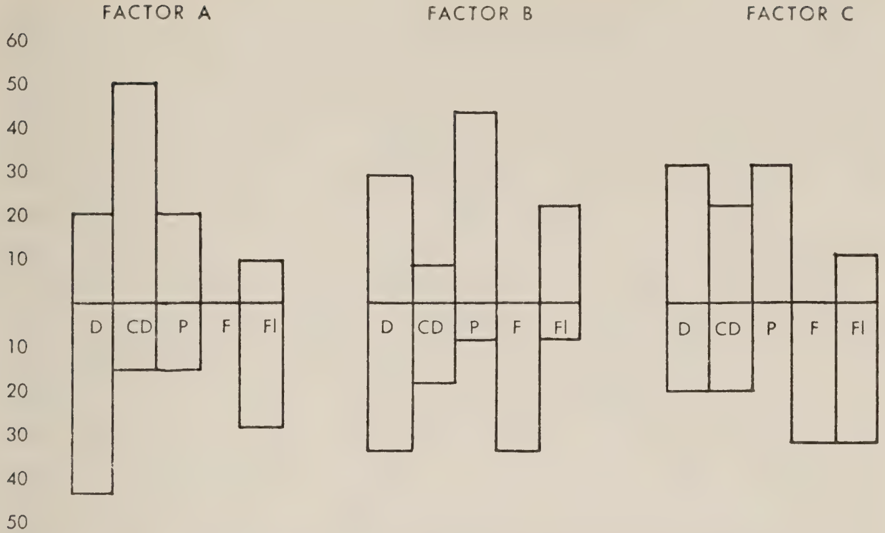

Figure 2. Emotional Categories Seen as Most and Least Characteristic of the Self, for the Seven Most-Change Members.

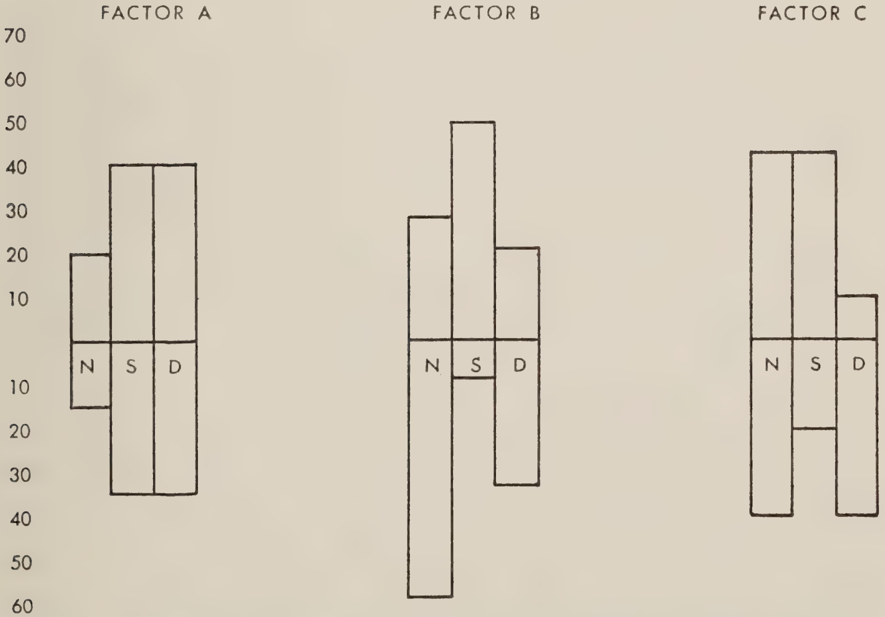

Figure 3. Work Categories Seen as Most and Least Characteristic of the Self, for the Seven Most-Change Members.

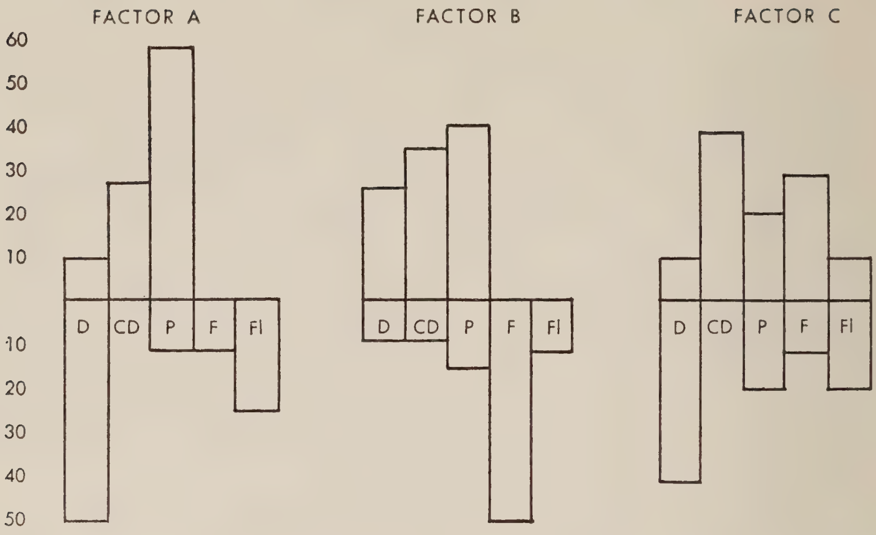

Figure 4. Emotional Categories Seen as Most and Least Characteristic of the Self, for the Seven Least-Change Members.

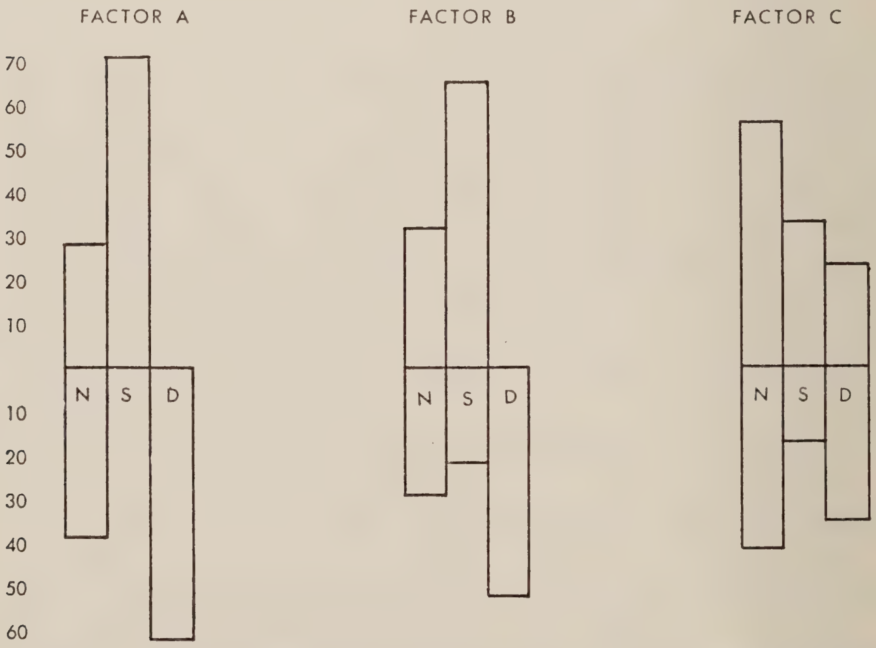

Figure 5. Work Categories Seen as Most and Least Characteristic of the Self, for the Seven Least-Change Members.

To form some estimate of the amount of pre-post difference attributable to the Q-sort itself, it was administered to five persons who were *not* participating in a training group or having equivalent experiences. The Q-sorts were administered twice, six weeks apart. Correlations of each subject's presort with his own postsort ranged from .74 to .83. We decided, therefore, that correlations of .70 and higher may simply express the reliability of the test, and do not represent change in self-perception.

According to this criterion, eight of the twenty-six members for whom pre- and post measures were available show no change. The remaining eighteen members show changes in their self-perceptions. Even the member who changes most, however, has a pre-post correlation of .38, indicating considerable relationship between his pre- and post self-perception. No negative or zero correlations were found, and this suggests that no major shifts or reversals occurred. An individual who sees himself initially as strongly counterdependent will not, as a result of the kind of experience here studied, be likely to describe himself as dependent. Changes such as occur are likely to represent shifts in emphases among the various modalities or work levels. To describe specifically the kinds of change that occur, it is necessary to go beyond simple pre-post correlations.

3. *What kinds of members do and do not change?*

An inspection of Table 37 shows that the least-change members have more in common, as a group, than do the most-change members. All seven least-change members show a significant loading on Factor X, that is, they possess some Factor X characteristics in common. The seven most-change members, on the other hand, break down into three separate subcategories that do not have characteristics in common.

The graphs for the least-change members (with special reference to the common factor, X) indicate that in general all least-change members consistently maintain the perception of themselves as active, warm, constructive leaders. They tend to deny flight and destructiveness. The graph for work for Factor X shows that destructive work is not seen as characteristic of the self, nor is constructive work sorted to the "least characteristic" end of the distribution. Similarly, on the graph showing modalities there is a great tendency for a modality seen as characteristic of the self not to appear below the mid-line, and vice versa. The members who are pure on Factor X (Nos. 22, 26, and 27) show this picture most clearly. The three subgroups differ from one another in that those pure on X deny dependency or weakness. The XY members (24 and 28) actively deny that their energetic leadership qualities involve any hostility. They also admit some dependency characteristics. The XZ members (23 and 25) perceive some hostile feelings in themselves and are less concerned about insisting upon their constructiveness in the group.

All these least-change members see themselves definitely as leader "types." They show great consistency in avoiding the "bad" qualities of weakness, withdrawal, and general unhelpfulness as characteristic of themselves.

The seven most-change members fall into three distinct subgroups. The first group (A) sees itself as strong, counterdependent leaders. Their pattern is very similar to the most general factor found among the least-change members (X). However, in the case of the A's, the perception is not as rigidly held. While dependency and flight are *generally* denied, some dependency and flight are also seen as characteristic; while counterdependency is *generally* seen as characteristic, some counterdependency is denied. The general impression is one of lack of rigidity or lack of clarity of self-perception in these emotional areas. A further marked difference between Subgroups X and A is seen on the respective work graphs: Subgroup A shows no special need (as does X) to see itself as highly constructive or to deny destructive tendencies.

Group B tends to see itself as warm, dependent, and passive or withdrawn. There is a clear denial that fight is at all characteristic and some indication that dependency may be a conflict area for this group. The work graph shows a need to perceive the self as constructive rather than destructive with respect to the group's work.

Group C shows more diffuse self-perceptions than the other two most-change subgroups. Pairing is accepted and fight denied, but the other modalities are both accepted and denied. There is, in particular, indication of conflict in the areas of dependency and counterdependency, with both these modalities being both accepted and rejected.

In comparing most- and least-change members it does not seem possible to distinguish between them on the basis of the particular modalities that they accept or deny. There is some tendency for the least-change members as a whole to see themselves as relatively more constructive and less destructive with respect to the work of the group. Certain tendencies, such as the perception of the self as a warm, pairing person appear to be common to all 14 members. Perceiving the self as a strong leader (CD) who is not withdrawn or irrelevant (Fl) is common to all groups except most-change, B. These perceptions, which add up to a picture of the strong, warm, constructive leader, may represent a stereotype of what this population sees as the "good group member." Other characteristics, such as the denial of fight, appear less consistently in the population as a whole but do appear in members who change, as well as in members who do not change.

While it does not seem possible to differentiate the most- and least-change members by the content of their self-perceptions, there is evidence that the two groups do differ from each other with respect to the *definiteness* of the self-perception. That is, it appears from the graphs that when a least-change member accepts or denies a certain modality or work level he does so more consistently than does the most-change member. It is possible to interpret this to mean that the least-change members, as a group, have put more energy into defining and maintaining a self-concept. They "know" who they are. They know that they are counterdependent, or pairers, or not hostile, or work-oriented, as the case may be. This "knowing" may or may not be accurate: that is, the self-perception may actually correspond to reality or it may be entirely defensive in character. We do not have the information necessary to make this judgment. The most-change members, as a group, are much less sure of themselves. They can see the same affect as being something they wish simultaneously to accept and to deny, or they can see two opposed modalities as a part of themselves.

We can hypothesize that the least-change members might, in a training group, act to protect their perceptions of themselves from possible influences. The most-change members, on the other hand, might use the group experience as a means for clarifying their self-percepts. This is a speculation that really goes beyond the data available, but the data do seem to suggest this as a possible hypothesis.

4. *What is the nature of the change that occurs?*

The data relevant for answering this question are contained in Table 35, which summarizes the results of the analysis of variance for the seven most-change members.

Generally, a significant F value for the single variable M indicates that, over-all, the member made a distinction among the five emotional modalities represented in the population of Q items. That is, he definitely saw a certain modality or modalities as being highly characteristic of himself and certain others as uncharacteristic. (The word "over-all" is a reminder that the F values for M take into account both pre- and postsorts.) Similarly, a significant F value for W indicates that the subject distinguishes between work levels in his self-percept. Insignificant F values for the interaction $M \times W$ indicate that for this subject M and W are independent of each other. That is, there is no tendency to perceive the self as expressing certain modalities in a constructive fashion and certain others in a destructive fashion. A significant F value for the interaction $M \times T$ indicates that there is a significant change from pre to post in the modalities that the subject sees as characteristic of himself. A significant F value for $W \times T$ similarly indicates a shift in the S's perception of his work characteristics. Significance in the triple interaction indicates a more specific change: for example, change in work level with respect to one or two modalities only.

An inspection of Table 34 shows that:

For two of the members (Nos. 21 and 10) the change is with respect to the modality or modalities perceived as most characteristic of the self.

For two others (Nos. 4 and 24) the modality remains the same but the member sees himself as expressing affect differently with respect to work.

For one member (No. 29) the change is more specific in character. There has been a shift in the work-level characteristics of one or two modalities only.

For two members (Nos. 14 and 5) the change is even more specific. Here, the analyses of variance show that their over-all descriptions of their modality and work characteristics are essentially the same. At the same time the low correlations (.39 and .41) indicate that change did take place. We must conclude that the change consisted of shifts in the placement of individual items, and that these items are not concentrated in a particular category but are scattered among the modality and work categories.

In identifying further the kinds of changes that occur, it is necessary to inspect the original score summaries on which the analysis of variance is based. This more intensive analysis will be illustrated for Members 29 and 4. The data on which these descriptions are based are presented in Appendix D, Part 2.

Member 29: At the beginning of the experience this member perceives himself as a person of warmth and constructiveness. (The significant F value for M is accounted for by the high sorting of pairing items compared with all others. The significant F value for W is accounted for by the high placement of W-constructive items and the low placement of W-destructive items.) These F values, significant at the .01 level, indicate that this perception is very consistently maintained. The change that occurs is fairly specific in character. That is, there is no over-all change with respect to modalities ($M \times T$ is not significant) or work ($W \times T$ is not significant). An inspection of the original scores shows that the changes that account for the significant F value for $M \times W \times T$ are, first, a decrease in pairing and fight expressed constructively and an increase in dependency expressed destructively. Second, while the total amount of flight remains the same, there is an increase in flight expressed constructively and a decrease in flight expressed without respect to work.

Originally, when this member expressed fight and pairing he had some need to see these expressions as being constructive in character. Possibly he used this perception of constructiveness to justify and permit the expression of these feelings. The shift in the direction of seeing *PW* and *FW* as relatively less characteristic of himself suggests that this need has lessened. The increase in *D* also supports this view. The shift in *Fl* suggests a focusing of *Fl* tendencies into constructive channels. The member now sees *Fl* as something that can be useful to the group. These are changes, it should be emphasized, in the way the individual sees himself. The data cannot tell whether these changes are also reflected in behavior, whether they are integrated, long-term changes, or merely temporary and adaptive in character.

Member 4: This member also begins by making clear distinctions between both modalities and work level (*M* and *W* significant at the .05 level). He sees himself as expressing pairing and fight more readily than the other modalities. He also sees himself as constructive rather than destructive, but this perception is not held as extremely as it was for Member 29. At the close of the group experience he still sees himself as essentially the same person with respect to the modalities, but the acceptance of constructive work and denial of destructive work is much more marked. His postscores for *M* and W are more extreme than were Member 29's prescores.

This member shows an increased need to perceive himself as a constructive person. As was the case with Member 29, it is difficult to assess the meaning of this change from the self-perceptual data alone.

This discussion of change in individual members should make clear that there appears to be no communality among most-change members with respect to the kinds of changes that occur. Each individual seems to show changes unique to him and are, we can assume, an effect of his special needs, the particular opportunities offered him by the training group, and the ways in which he has participated in and used the group experience. For any one individual, the change in self-percept may reflect a temporary adaptation to a specific group culture, or an integrated change that is reflected in behavior and other personality characteristics, or more accurate insight into the self, and so on. In order to make these judgments, additional information concerning behavior and personality organization is required.

SUMMARY

1. Members whose perceptions of themselves change during the course of a training group experience exhibit shifts in emphasis in the kinds of affect or work expressions perceived as most characteristic of themselves, but these shifts occur within the framework of a generally constant over-all self-percept.

2. In comparing members whose self-percepts do and do not change, the least-change members seem to have more clearly defined concepts of the

kinds of people they are. They are more likely to see certain modalities as being definitely like themselves and certain others as being definitely unlike themselves. There are fewer inconsistent elements.

3. The kinds of members who do not change their self-percept show greater communality among themselves than do the members who change. The least-change members tend, as a group, to subscribe to a stereotyped self-percept of the "good" group member: high counterdependency and pairing, low flight and dependency, and high work. While the most-change members also subscribe to this percept to some extent, they do so less rigidly (see 2, above) and show more diversity among themselves.

4. There is no particular kind of change more likely to occur than any other. The change displayed by each individual appears to be unique to him and most probably is a product of his own needs and the way he interacts with the group experience. To interpret the meaning of change in self-percept for each member, further information concerning behavior and personality is required.

CHAPTER XIX

Interrelations Among Changes in the Three Components of Valency: A Case Study[1]

THIS CASE STUDY of change explores and illustrates the use of the concept of valency for a multiple-level, integrated approach to the assessment of change. The affective approach, culture preferences, and underlying concerns of a single subject are examined both before and after his participation in a training group. The initial "Reactions to Group Situations Test" (RGST) of this subject was presented and analyzed in Chapter 6. The present chapter studies his changes through comparison of the earlier test (administered two months before the training experience), with a posttest administered six months afterward.

Valency pattern prior to the training experience. The following is a more concise restatement of the summary given on pages 62–63, Chapter 6:

Affective approach: This subject most characteristically displays work and counterdependency in his overt behavior. His work contributions are likely to be related to task rather than process problems. Fight and dependency tend to be expressed inconsistently. Fight is expressed overtly when it can be justified in terms of the work task. It is typically expressed more subtly in the form of irony or resentment. Dependency is expressed through aggressive demands that the leader provide structure and direction.

Culture preference: The S prefers situations in which the group is working in an orderly, predictable way on some work task. He is most threatened by a group situation in which hostile feelings are being expressed freely.

Underlying concerns: Fight and dependency are major areas of concern. With respect to fight the S experiences considerable hostility but is unable to accept these feelings in himself or release them adequately or appropriately in behavior. With respect to dependency the S demands external structuring and control from the leader, yet his need to be strong and a leader himself makes this implied dependency intolerable to him. We hypothesize that the need to find external control over his hostile impulses leads him to demand structure from the leader.

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock.

A Comparison of the Pre- and Post-RGST Protocols. Our procedure in comparing the two protocols follows:

1. The post-RGST protocol and scoring sheet are presented and the pre- and postscore patterns are compared.

2. A clinical appraisal is made of the responses contained in the record. As with the analysis of the pretest, the first set of responses to the test is dealt with first, then all the responses to the pairing, fight, dependency, flight, and work items are considered in turn. The pre- and postresponses to the same item are presented side by side so that direct comparisons can be made. In the analysis of the pretest a number of themes were identified; these are reconsidered and evidence of persistence or modification of the various themes is noted.

3. The summary includes an assessment of both stability and change with respect to affective approach, culture preference, and area of concern.

1. *The post-RGST protocol and scoring sheet, with a comparison of the pre- and postscore pattern.*

A. RGST protocol, postadministration.

1. When the group first started, Ned felt *eager.*
2. It's more important for the group to *get on with the job.*
3. Bert felt the leader was *stalling.*
4. When Jerry was joking the group *relaxed.*
5. When Abe asked the group's permission to present his idea, Paul *demurred.*
6. When the group was bogged down, Ray said *something constructive.*
7. When Sam said, "Let's get to the problem," I *concurred.*
8. Since Jack liked some members more than others, he *favored their ideas.*
9. When he realized he was angry at Phil, Charles *was surprised.*
10. Sid praised the leader, and Roger *agreed.*
11. When Tom and Mary arrived twenty minutes late, the group *felt hurt.*
12. When the group disparaged his idea, Frank *argued for it.*
13. When the leader offered to help him, Pete *said he could get the job done.*
14. When several members dropped out of the discussion, Hank *took the floor.*
15. When Marvin suggested that the group assess its own resources, we *agreed.*
16. The leader usually *observed and did not direct.*
17. Chuck's detached manner *reflected lack of interest.*
18. Together John and Fred *monopolized the talk.*
19. When Jim realized quite a few people were taking digs at each other, he *broke the tension by a remark.*

20. When the group just couldn't seem to get ahead, I *presented a new approach.*
21. When Ed seemed to be daydreaming, Bill *spoke to him.*
22. Since the group wanted to test the suggested procedure, Milt *offered to be the guinea pig.*
23. The leader got mad at the group, and Bob *defended the group's action.*
24. Dick felt that his role *was misplayed.*
25. When Len turned to me, I *was flattered.*
26. During the argument, Henry's vehemence caused Earl *to smile.*
27. When the leader changed the subject, Al *brought the discussion back to it.*
28. When my attention wandered from the discussion, Jim *tried to bring me back to it.*
29. When Morris said we needed more information about how we felt, I *felt not sure of agreement.*
30. When there was a pause in the group, Stan *always had a contribution to make.*
31. When Ben contradicted the leader, I *agreed.*
32. When Walt and the leader made side remarks to each other, James *thought they should speak to all.*
33. When the group was particularly friendly toward one of its members, Ken *observed it.*
34. When Hal felt hostile to the group, he *spoke up.*
35. When Harry said we needed help, Martin *disagreed.*
36. When Jim left the meeting early, we *tended to relax.*
37. When Ray recommended that the group consider the theoretical aspects of the problem, I *agreed in my mind.*
38. Occasionally the group needed *the stimulation of a proposal.*
39. When Mark criticized Fred's idea, I *tended to defend it.*
40. When it was suggested that the group stick to the job, Glen *agreed.*
41. When George attacked the group, Bob *tended to defend it.*
42. When the leader offered to help Carl, Joe *thanked him.*
43. When the group pointedly ignored Steve's idea, John *felt that it should have been considered.*
44. When the group seemed to be breaking up, Nick *tried to reorient them for further work.*

B. RGST scoring sheet, postadministration.

	1 Accept	*2 Non-accept*	*3 Covert*	*4 Overt*	*5 Feeling*	*6 Action plus*	*7 Action minus*	*8 Ideation*	*9 ?*
Pairing									
8	X					X			
11		X	P, D		X				
18		X	F			X			
25	X				X				
33		X	Fl					X	

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
	Accept	*Non-accept*	*Covert*	*Overt*	*Feeling*	*Action plus*	*Action minus*	*Ideation*	*?*
Fight									
9		X	E		X				
12	X			F		X			
19		X		W		X			
26		X	F, Fl			X			
34	X					X			
41	X			F		X			
Dependency									
3		X		CD					
13		X	CD			X			
20		X	CD	W		X			
27		X	CD	W		X			
35		X	CD			X			
42		X	CD	P		X			
Flight									
4	X					X			
14		X				X			
21		X				X			
28		X	CD			X			
36	X		F				X		
44		X		W		X			
Work									
7	X								X
15	X								X
22	X		D			X			
29		X	D					X	
37	X				X				
General									
1	—	—			X				
2	—	—		W					
5	—	—	F			X			
6	—	—		W		X			

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
	Accept	*Non-accept*	*Covert*	*Overt*	*Feeling*	*Action plus*	*Action minus*	*Ideation*	*?*
10	—	—							
16	—	—	CD			X			
17	—	—							
23	—	—		F		X			
24	—	—	D			X			
30	—	—	CD	W		X			
31	—	—							X
32	—	—						X	
38	—	—		W		X			
39	—	—		P, F		X			
40	—	—		W					
43	—	—	P, F					X	

Score Summary

	Accept	*Covert*	*Overt*	*Total*	*f*	*a+*	*a—*	*I*	*?*
P	2	2	2	6	2	2		1	
F	3	5	4	12	1	5			
D	0	4	0	4		5			
Fl	2	2	0	4		5	1		
W	4	—	9	13	1	1		1	2
CD	—	8	1	9					
E	—	1	0	1					
Mixed items					1	8		2	1
Total					5	26	1	4	3

C. A comparison of the pre- and postscore patterns.

A comparison of the score summary of the posttest with the score summary for the pretest (page 55, Chapter 2) shows the following differences:

a. There is some increase in introduced pairing.
b. There is a marked increase in the expression of counterdependency, and more counterdependency is introduced covertly.
c. There is an over-all decrease in flight, which is accounted for by a marked decrease in the amount of flight introduced overtly.
d. There is a marked relative increase of action (*a*+) responses over ideation (*I*) responses.
e. There is a marked decrease in introduced work.

The relative increase of $a+$ responses over ideation responses suggests that the S now can deal with affect-laden situations more directly; he has less need to distance himself by responding in an intellectual manner. The decrease in introduced work also supports this view. Much of the flight introduced in the first record was combined with work. This suggests that work often served the purpose of escaping certain situations. The decrease in the second record of work and flight, both alone and in combination, suggests that this possibly compulsive use of work to escape has decreased, and that there is in general less need to escape. The small increase in pairing, while perhaps insignificant in itself, does suggest in combination with the above that more energy may be available to this S for reaching out to others. The increase in counterdependency responses suggests that the S is putting more energy into leadership activity.

2. *A comparison of the pre- and post-RGST protocol, from the content of the responses.*

The following are the first four stimulus items in the test and the pre- and postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
1. When the group first started, Ned felt	the need for someone to propose an organization and a plan of procedure.	eager.
2. It's more important for the group to	be organized and find out the precise limits of its job.	get on with the job.
3. Bert felt the leader was	unprepared to start the group off, directing their individual parts in an attack on the problem.	stalling.
4. When Jerry was joking, the group	relaxed.	relaxed.

The most obvious difference is that the postresponses are much briefer. This difference persists strikingly for the entire test. It is as though the S requires less verbiage to deal with the items; he can respond more directly and simply to the stimulus situations. The preresponses indicate a strong need for someone to stucture the situation and for immediately getting down to the task; they also indicate a dissatisfaction with the leader for not being able to provide sufficient structure. In the posttest the work orientation and some dissatisfaction with the leader persist, but the need for rigid and immediate structuring has dropped out completely.

The following are the pairing items and the pre- and postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
8. Since Jack liked some members more than others, he	tended to sit near them, and direct his remarks to them.	favored their ideas.
11. When Tom and Mary arrived 20 minutes late, the group	went right on with its discussion, with no acknowledgment of the interruption.	felt hurt.
18. Together John and Fred	produced some detailed clerical work which would be valuable to the entire committee.	monopolized the talk.
25. When Len turned to me, I	tended to agree. I needed some time to marshal my thoughts for an expression.	was flattered.
33. When the group was particularly friendly toward one of its members, Ken	wondered if they had known him as a famous athlete in college.	observed it.

The pre- and postresponses to Item 8 are similar, but the postresponse is stated more directly and explicitly. In Item 11 the denial present in the preresponse is missing in the postresponse. Although the feeling is the same it is more accessible to the S in the postresponse and he is able to say directly: "felt hurt." In Item 18 the resentment against pairing by others comes out directly in the postresponse. In Item 25 the distancing and inability to handle a direct pairing overture evident in the preresponse is not evident in the postresponse. Also, as in Item 11, the affective reaction to the situation seems more available to the situation. The responses to Item 33 are difficult to evaluate: the postresponse is more noncommittal but less suspicious.

The content of these responses suggests that the S is more able, in the posttest, to admit the feelings he has about pairing. That is, he can more readily admit that he feels left out and hurt (No. 11) or annoyed (No. 18) when others pair, and pleased (No. 25) when someone acts friendly toward him. While the general pattern in the first protocol was denial of such feelings, the general pattern in the second is awareness of such feelings (although the postresponse to No. 33 indicates some continued need to hold back). It is possible to surmise from other responses that the still held-back feelings involve jealousy and hostility.

The following are the fight items and the pre- and the postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
9. When he realized he was angry at Phil, Charles	reddened in a blush and stopped talking.	was surprised.
12. When the group disparaged his idea, Frank	became defensive and argumentative.	argued for it.
19. When Jim realized quite a few people were taking digs at each other, he	spoke up; expressing that thought, and requesting friendly discussion.	broke the tension by a remark.
26. During the argument, Henry's vehemence caused Earl	to appear to recoil.	to smile.
34. When Hal felt hostile to the group, he	tended to withdraw and not participate.	spoke up.
41. When George attacked the group, Bob	defended it.	tended to defend it.

The responses to No. 9 are similar in that both involve a certain degree of immoblization. Yet the second seems to involve more awareness of the hostile feeling. The S is still surprised at himself for feeling hostility. The responses to No. 12 are again similar, but the second response shows more strength and directness and less hurt. Items 19 and 41 show similar responses: 19 seems more direct, and 41 less direct. The postresponse to No. 26 is very cryptic and indicates the S's unwillingness to commit himself. Item 34 shows a shift from withdrawal from a fight situation to active dealing with it.

While the score pattern for fight shows little change from the pre- to the postadministration, the content indicates an increased awareness in this S of his own hostile feelings and a greater tendency to deal with them directly. In general, this is the same kind of change as was noted for pairing, except that the posttest shows relatively more difficulty persisting with respect to fight than with respect to pairing. Although the S is more able to see his own hostility and has less need to express it deviously, it is still an area of concern for him. There are still times when his own hostile feelings surprise him (No. 9), still times when he wishes to evade dealing with hostile situations (No. 26), or to distance himself from such feelings (No. 41).

The following are the dependency items and the pre- and postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
3. Bert felt the leader was	unprepared to start the group off, directing their individual parts in an attack on the problem.	stalling.

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
13. When the leader offered to help him, Pete	said he could complete his share of the work.	said he could get the job done.
20. When the group just couldn't seem to get ahead, I	again suggested a 10-minute recess for coffee, and then a new approach.	presented a new approach.
27. When the leader changed the subject, Al	felt that the previous subject still required further exchange of views.	brought the discussion back to it.
35. When Harry said that we needed help, Martin	said he thought we had talent enough to come up with a solution.	disagreed.
42. When the leader offered to help Carl, Joe	admired his ability and readiness to work with each of the members.	thanked him.

The S consistently rejects dependency stimulus items in the pretest and in the posttest. The difference is that in the postresponses he deals with the dependency situations more directly and without the suggestions of hostility that are present in the preresponses to Nos. 13, 20, and 35. In No. 20 he no longer has to flight before he can work, and in No. 27 he can express his objections rather than just feel them internally. Both responses to No. 42 are somewhat evasive.

The S expresses his counterdependence even more consistently in the second test than in the first, but his counterdependence seems to involve less hostility and to find more direct expression. In the pretest his expressions of counterdependence carry with them covert hostility (No. 13), exasperation (No. 20), or sarcasm (No. 35). In the posttest the same feelings of counterdependency are expressed without these overtones. From the point of view of his effectiveness in the group, the leadership offered in the posttest is more likely to be accepted by other members than the leadership offered in the pretest.

The following are the flight items and the pre- and postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
4. When Jerry was joking, the group	relaxed.	relaxed.
14. When several members dropped out of the discussion, Hank	felt that interest was lagging.	took the floor.
21. When Ed seemed to be daydreaming, Bill	ignored it, but secretly was offended.	spoke to him.
28. When my attention wandered from the discussion, Jim	would notice and, by a well-directed remark, rekindle my interest.	tried to bring me back to it.

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
36. When Jim left the meeting early, we	thought that he was sacrificing the group's work in favor of his personal interests.	tended to relax.
44. When the group seemed to be breaking up, Nick	felt that the meeting should have been terminated just previously, and that the leader should have sensed it.	tried to reorient them for further work.

Items 4 and 28 show essentially similar responses. The preresponse to Item 14 merely interprets the flight while the postresponse actively deals with it. The preresponses to Nos. 21 and 36 are similar in that the S uses someone else's flight as an excuse to feel hostile to him, yet is unable to express this hostility and can only feel internal resentment. The postresponse to No. 36 shows that the situation no longer elicits fight, and if there is fight involved (in the response to No. 21) it is expressed directly. In the postresponse to No. 44, the S takes on a leader role with no hesitation; whereas formerly he felt the leader should have done something and was resentful because he had not.

Perhaps the most marked change is that flight no longer seems to elicit covert hostility or resentment. The S can in every case respond directly and clearly to flight, sometimes by going along with it, and sometimes with work-oriented and leadership behavior.

The following are the work items and the pre- and postresponses to them:

Item	*Preresponse*	*Postresponse*
7. When Sam said, "Let's get to the problem," I	felt that his mind must have been on something other than our discussion.	concurred.
15. When Marvin suggested that the group assess its own resources, we	each mentally began to assess our individual records.	agreed.
22. Since the group wanted to test the suggested procedure, Milt	asked how? What are the details of your proposed test?	offered to be the guinea pig.
29. When Morris said we needed more information about how we we felt, I	tended to agree.	felt not sure of agreement.
37. When Ray recommended that the group consider the theoretical aspects of the problem, I	agreed.	agreed in my mind.

In the preresponse to No. 7 the S meets a work suggestion with suspiciousness; in the postresponse he simply goes along with it. The responses to Nos. 15, 22, and 37 are essentially the same, although the postresponse to No. 15 is more direct and less involved, and the postresponse to No. 37 shows greater reservations. Item 29 is accepted in the pretest and rejected in the posttest. This may show some increased resistance to dealing with "process" work.

The responses to the work items are much the same from the pretest to the posttest. The postresponses do not show the suspiciousness that appears in the pretest. There is some suggestion that the S increasingly resists work on process problems.

In the pretest the first important theme is concerned with the way the S dealt with fight. In the pretest the predominant flavor in the fight responses *is one of internally felt resentment covertly and rather indiscriminately expressed.* A capacity to deal with fight more directly is displayed in the preresponses to Nos. 12 and 14, but this is not the most characteristic approach to fight situations. This analysis was based on the preresponses to Nos. 9, 23, and 31, which indicated difficulty in dealing with fight, and on the responses to Nos. 7, 11, 21, 24, 30, 32, and 36, which indicated that the S felt considerable hostility and resentment that he could not express overtly. The postresponses to these same items now show either no fight at all (Nos. 7, 21, 24, 30, and 36) or fight expressed directly (Nos. 11 and 32). Other postresponses which indicate that the S is now able to deal more directly with hostile situations and feelings are Nos. 12, 31, 34, 35, 39, and 41.

A second difference with respect to fight is that the second test shows less immobilization in fight situations. The pretest showed two immobilization responses while the posttest showed one. But more important than this small quantitative difference is a change in the quality of the immobilization responses. The postresponse to No. 9, "was surprised," does not carry the same quality of lack of control as does the preresponse to the same item, "reddened in a blush and stopped talking."

A third difference is that the difficulty the S displays in the pretest in dealing with hostile feelings about the leader appears to be greatly lessened. (Compare preresponses to Nos. 10, 23, 27, and 31 with the postresponses to Nos. 23, 27, 31, and 32.)

In general this S shows marked changes in the way he deals with fight situations in the group and with his own hostile feelings. Although he still displays some problems with fight, he is better able to recognize hostile feelings in himself and expresses fight more directly and appropriately in the group. Both the pre- and the posttests show the same methods of dealing with fight available to him: direct dealing, covertly expressed resentment, neutrality, withdrawal, mediating behavior, and immobilization. But in the pretest the emphasis is on covertly felt resentment and immobilization, while in the posttest the emphasis is on direct dealing and mediation.

A second important theme in the pretest was *the S's need for structure* (as indicated by the preresponses to Nos. 3, 10, 16, and 38) *and his resentment toward the leader for not supplying sufficient structure* (Nos. 3, 10, and 44). In the posttest this excessive need for structure has diminished. (Compare responses to the above items; also see the postresponse to No. 16.) In the posttest none of these items elicits demands for structure, nor is this need shown in any of the other responses. The S is still work-oriented (see postresponses to Nos. 2, 20, 30, 38, and 44), but this work orientation has lost its rigid character.

The S's relationship with the leader has undergone a change. In the pretest he felt hostile toward the leader for not supplying structure and direction (Nos. 3, 10, and 44), yet found it very difficult to oppose the leader or express disagreement with him. In the posttest he no longer expresses the same resentment against the leader, and on the other hand can express disagreement more freely (see Nos. 23, 27, and 31).

Many responses in the pretest indicated a need to distance himself from others and from affectful situations (see preresponses to Nos. 25, 26, 29, and 34, the many ideation responses, and the generally lengthy and involved character of the responses). The postresponses are in general briefer, more direct, and less ambiguous. The more direct expression of fight and pairing also indicates less need to distance himself from others.

SUMMARY OF CHANGE

Affective approach: In both the pre- and the postadministrations of the RGST this subject's most characteristic overt behavior involves counterdependency and work, particularly task work. However, at the time of the posttest the work-oriented behavior is somewhat less rigid in character. Both work and counterdependent behavior are less contaminated with hostility. The S expresses about the same amount of fight in both cases, but in the pretest his hostility is most typically expressed as a generalized and covert resentment; while in the posttest fight tends to be expressed more directly and appropriately. In both the pre- and the posttest pairing and dependency do not appear very frequently in behavior. However, there are some changes in these areas. The S expresses somewhat more pairing in the posttest; this seems to be an expression of a decreased need to distance himself from others. In the pretest the S expresses dependency in the form of demanding structure and direction from the leader. In the posttest the need for structure lessens, and the expression of dependency also shows some decrease.

Culture Preference: In the analysis of the pretest, the S was described as preferring a highly structured work situation and being very much threatened by fight conditions in the group. These same two preferences persist in the posttest, but in both cases they are less extreme. The preference for work remains, but the need for a rigidly structured situation is not as desperate. Similarly, the S is still somewhat disturbed by fight in the group, but not nearly to the same extent as in the pretest.

Underlying concerns: In the analysis of the pretest, fight and dependency were seen as the two major areas of concern. They were related in that the S's concern over his hostile feelings led him to demand direction and structure from the leader (such demands are actually an expression of dependency). They conflicted with the S's general tendencies to express strength and counterdependent behavior in the group, and aroused anxieties over his own passivity and dependency needs. It is clear from the analysis of the posttest that the S's anxiety over his fight impulses, while still present, is considerably diminished. The demand for direction and structure from the leader has virtually dropped out of his overt behavior. One assumption that can be drawn from this (and this becomes rather speculative) is that the lessening of concern over hostile feelings has led, via the route suggested above, to less need for dependency as a means for external control of hostile expressions. The effect (on the level tapped by this test) is that both fight and dependency diminish as underlying concerns.

The relation of valency pattern to other personal characteristics: This S was a member of the population studied in Chapters 5 and 8. Consequently, the following additional information was available for this S: (1) his perceptions of his own role and of the total group; and (2) his choices of other members in response to a number of sociometric questions. The relation of these perceptual characteristics to change in valency pattern will be discussed here.

The S consistently sees himself as task-oriented and polite, and resists describing himself as irrelevant. These perceptions of his own role persist throughout the three weeks of meetings. (Counterdependency is seen as moderately characteristic of himself throughout the meetings.) Certain other self-perceptions change: as time goes on, the S tends to perceive more pairing in his own role. Hostility is generally rejected as a personal characteristic, but as the weeks pass this S ascribes relatively more hostility to his own behavior in the group.

This S consistently sees the group as warm, friendly, and work-oriented. There are no definite changes in this percept from week to week.

These perceptual characteristics, and particularly those involving change, are consistent with the analysis of change made from the pre- and post-RGST protocols. The perception of the self and the group as task-oriented and warm is consistent with the finding from the RGST's that this S maintains a consistent work orientation. The analysis of the RGST protocols suggested that the S's fight and pairing impulses (particularly the former) became more available to him. The increased willingness of the S to accept both pairing and hostility as personal characteristics is consistent with this interpretation.

Turning to the S's choices of other members, we find a rather consistent focusing on the leader in response to the "agreed most," "major spokesman," and "closest to" questions. This appears to reflect the concern over his relationship with the leader seen in the RGST. In his responses to the "agreed least" question, the S initially chose pairing persons, but later tended to choose flight persons. These choice characteristics seem to reflect, first, a concern with the leader, and second, a shift toward less rejection of persons who approach closely and express positive affect freely (pairing persons), and toward an increased rejection of members who avoid work or affect-laden situations (flight members). This finding is consistent with the interpretation from the RGST that the S shows a decreased tendency to distance himself from others in the posttest as compared with the pretest.

In general, then, we conclude that the interpretation of change in this S, as derived from pre- and post-RGST protocols, is consistent with shifts in perception on the part of the S of his own role, of other members, and of the total group.

Part E
Dynamics of Group Growth

CHAPTER XX

Dynamics of Group Growth: Introduction

In the overview of theory presented in Chapter 2 the concepts of "group culture" and "individual valency" were described as basic to the understanding of group functioning. Both these concepts, and most particularly the first, can be applied to the understanding of group development over time.

According to the concept of group culture, a group can be described at any point in its existence as operating in a particular work-emotionality culture. In other words, at any given time a group can be described in terms of its work activities, the emotional basic assumption on which it is operating, and the dynamic relationship that exists between these two aspects of its operation.

A group is always engaged in work: it is always to some extent, implicitly or explicitly, involved in meeting task demands that originate from within or outside the group. Such work represents the consciously determined, deliberative, reality-oriented, goal-seeking aspects of the group's activities. At the same time that a group is engaged in work, it is also concerned with certain emotional issues that are seemingly illogical, are not under conscious control, and whose purposes are not understood by the group. For example, while a group is working on some publicly defined task it may also be struggling with hostile feelings about some one member, or with the need to reach some agreement about the extent to which feelings will be expressed, or with problems of distribution of power in the group. The group or its members may believe that the group is engaged solely in its task interests, and they may not be aware of these emotional aspects; but an observer watching the group may find that the way in which the task problem is being approached, the variety of feelings expressed by different members, and other phenomena can be accounted for only through some inference about the nature of the group's emotional state or preoccupations.

In developing this theory of the work-emotionality culture, Bion felt that the emotional aspects of group operation could be described in terms of three rather comprehensively defined emotional states: dependency, pairing, and fight-flight. When a group is operating in a work-dependency culture it is acting as though the group exists in order to find support and direction from something outside itself, such as the leader, tradition, external standards. When a group is operating in a work-pairing culture it is operating as though its function were to find strength from within its own peer group. When it is in a work-fight-flight culture it acts as though its purpose were to deny or avoid something by fighting it or running away from it. During any one of these work-emotionality states, individual members may be behaving in a variety of ways. Individually, they may be expressing anger, frustration, friendliness, helplessness, or they may be expressing no affect at all. Because of the great variety of individual expressions usually being made, group situations often seem complicated and confused. What is being suggested here is that all these individual expressions may be seen as personal reactions to a particular work-emotional culture. If the group is operating in a work-dependency culture, for example, some of the members may be "speaking for" the culture by appealing for support or expressing helplessness; others may be protesting the culture by fighting or flighting; still others may be expressing pairing in an attempt to find support from peers; others may be silent. If one can correctly assess the emotional assumptions on which the group is operating (in this case: "We are helpless and need direction"), these complex expressions take on coherence and order, and apparently contradictory elements are clarified. All this suggests that the basic emotional categories put forth by Bion may be applied on two levels: they may refer to the over-all basic assumption on which the group is operating (that is, the group culture); they may also apply to specific behaviors: individuals may express fight, flight, pairing, and dependency in particular verbal statements made in the group. We use these categories on both levels.

To return to the level of the group culture, it will be seen from the above discussion that work-emotionality states or cultures differ from one another with respect to the particular emotionality associated with work at any given time. A second way in which they may differ is with respect to the relative dominance of the work aspects over the emotional aspects or of the emotional aspects over the work aspects. When work is dominant over emotionality the emotional dynamics of the group are integrated with its work activities in such a way that the work task is furthered. Thus, for example, preoccupations with fight may lead to needed clarification of a task or to a decisive commitment to or rejection of a task. On the other hand, when emotionality is dominant over work the emotional preoccupations of the group are so overwhelming or pervasive that the task activities are interfered with or lost sight of. This is seen, for example, when hostile feelings make it impossible for the members to accept or follow one another's suggestions.

When group development is thought of in these terms, a group can be seen as operating successively in a series of work-emotionality cultures, each differing from the one preceding or succeeding it in the relative dominance of the work or the emotional aspects of the culture, and/or in the particular emotional state with which the work is associated. A group may operate in a work-pairing culture (work-dominant) for a time, then shift to a work-dependency culture (work-dominant) and then to a fight-flight-work culture (fight-flight-dominant), and so on. This is, of course, a stylized view and provides only a generalized model for the characterization of a group's development. There may be many times when the group is operating in some mixed or transitional state or when the situation is so confused that the basic assumptions on which the group is operating cannot be identified.[1] A particular work-emotionality state or culture may last only a few minutes or it may go on over several meetings or even dominate a group's entire existence.

In considering the problem of how a group moves from one work-emotionality culture to another, Bion suggests that unique satisfactions and anxieties may be associated with each emotional state. For example, group members operating in work-dependency may find satisfaction in the fact that they can relax, rely on someone else for direction, and not have to assume responsibility for their own operation. At the same time they may feel anxious because of the implied immaturity, lack of control over their own interaction, and, perhaps, denial of many individual needs.

The second of the two basic concepts, individual valency, seems operative here. This concept assumes that each individual can be described in terms of a unique set of valencies, preferences, or predispositions for acting or feeling in certain ways in certain work-emotionality cultures. When, for example, a group is operating in a fight culture, certain individuals in the group who are particularly sensitive to the threats and anxieties involved in this culture may so act as to communicate these anxieties to others or to attempt to move the group into some other work-emotionality culture. Presumably, when these anxieties build up to some crucial level for the group as a whole, a shift will occur. The new culture will be maintained for a while because of the particular satisfactions associated with it and because of relief from the anxieties associated with the previous culture. As time goes on other members, particularly sensitive to the anxieties associated with the new culture, may be expected to initiate another shift. Similarly, one can expect certain members to fight a kind of rear-guard action. Just as some members are especially threatened by a particular work-emotionality situation, some others may be especially rewarded by it and can be expected to influence the group to remain in that culture. It is through the interaction of these kinds of forces that shifts from culture to culture occur.

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[1] There is some evidence that sequences among these cultural states are easiest to note after the group has passed through the first phase of individual membership exploration but before it has institutionalized its methods and procedures as a predominantly task-oriented group. This middle phase, however, characterizes most of the life of the training groups we have studied.

This approach to group development leads to speculations about the probable sequence of development and about the work-emotionality characteristics of the "mature" and the "immature" group. One possibility is that preoccupation with one kind of emotional issue is followed by preoccupation with another in some predictable sequence. For example, groups may typically operate in a work-dependency culture during their first meetings and move toward work-pairing or work-fight cultures during later meetings. Another possibility is that the particular way in which work and emotionality are related within a culture changes over time. For example, in early work-dependency cultures the preoccupation with dependency might disrupt the work efforts of the group, while in later work-dependency cultures the group may use its preoccupation with dependency more constructively. Definite answers to these questions will depend on research findings. In general, we do not expect the particular sequence of work-emotionality cultures to be constant from group to group, but to depend on such factors as the particular valency characteristics of the members, the leader's personal needs and leadership approach, and the task demands to which the group is subject. It is our current feeling that the same underlying emotional preoccupations may recur from time to time in the same group, but that the manner in which work and emotionality are integrated may shift. Movement toward maturity may involve an increased integration of emotionality with work such that the emotional needs of the group are progressively more stimulating to and supportive of the work needs.

This view of group development includes the possibility that changes may occur in the group without, necessarily, changes occurring in the valency characteristics of individual members. That is, group growth may be a matter of a more strategic activation or use of members of particular valency types, such that specific kinds of contributions are introduced more appropriately into the discussion.

To summarize this view of group development:

1. Group interaction can be described in terms of two aspects: work and emotionality.
2. The significant emotional categories of group interaction are dependency, pairing, and fight-flight.
3. At any given time a group is operating in a work-emotionality culture in which work is associated with one or another of the above emotional states.
4. The development of a group can be described in terms of successive phases of varying duration in which one work-emotionality culture gives way to another. Successive work-emotionality states or cultures differ in the particular emotionality associated with the work and/or in the relative dominance of work over emotionality or vice versa.
5. Anxiety and need gratification account for the shift from one work-emotionality culture to another.
6. As the group develops, there is a trend toward integration of work and emotional activity such that neither is denied and both are mutually supportive.

In studying the development of groups from within this theotetical framework, one of the first tasks is to determine whether group development can be described in these terms and whether such a characterization can be related meaningfully to other aspects of group operation. Two studies reported in this chapter represent a start in this direction. In Chapter 21 the developmental characteristics of a single group are examined in considerable detail. Changes over time in the work and emotionality characteristics of the group are identified, and shifts in the relations between these two aspects of group interaction are examined. Broad developmental phases are identified and they differ from each other in the relationship between work-emotionality relationships. In the second study the developmental characteristics of this group are compared with the developmental characteristics of a second group, and the similarities and differences between them are related to similarities and differences in self-perceptual subtype structure.

CHAPTER XXI

Changes in Work and Emotionality During Group Growth[1]

THIS STUDY attempts to test the notion that development of a total group can be described in terms of the changing character of its work and emotionality. The population studied was a single training group of sixteen members, including a trainer and an associate trainer. This group participated in the training program at the National Training Laboratory in Group Development held at Bethel, Maine, during the summer of 1951. The group met daily for thirteen sessions of two hours each. As with all training groups, there was no pre-established curriculum: the content of the discussion grew out of the concerns and problems introduced by the membership. The goals for the group as a whole were to provide experiences for the members that could help each of them grow toward a greater understanding of the character of group operation and of their own behaviors and feelings in a group situation. In this particular group some of the major content included examining the development of cliques in the group, studying decision-making processes, dealing with a difficult, hostile member, dealing with a withdrawn member, and examining the relationship between the members and the leader.

This study examines this training group for its emergent work-emotionality relationships and for the changes in the work-emotionality patterns as the meetings progressed. More specifically, the study deals with the following questions:

1. *Does this group show changes through time with respect to the quality of work expressed? With respect to the range of work level expressed?*
2. *Does this group show changes through time with respect to the amount of emotionality expressed? With respect to the range of emotionality expressed?*

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock and Saul Ben-Zeev.

3. *Does this group show changes through time with respect to the relationship between work and emotionality?*
4. *Does this group exhibit identifiable phases in its development?*

Design: Since this is a descriptive study, the design involves making appropriate observations of the group and organizing these observations in such a way that they might readily be interpreted.

1. Observation and rating of group interaction. Two nonparticipating observers[2] were present at all meetings. A sample of each meeting was rated according to a procedure[3] developed by the staff of the Human Dynamics Laboratory. To summarize briefly, this procedure consists of making two judgments for every statement made in the group:

a. The quality of work expressed: every statement receives one of four work ratings:

1—level work is personally need-oriented and unrelated to the group work.
2—level work is maintaining or routine in character. It may involve attempting to define a task, searching for methodology, clarifying already established plans, and the like.
3—level work is group-focused work that introduces some new ingredient; active problem solving.
4—level work is highly creative, insightful, and integrative. It often interprets what has been going on in the group and brings together in a meaningful way a series of experiences.

b. The character of the emotionality expressed: a statement may contain no detectable affect. If it does, the affect is placed in one of the following emotional categories:

Fight (F): expressions of hostility and aggression.
Flight (Fl): expressions of avoidance of the problem or withdrawal from participation.
Pairing (P): expressions of warmth, intimacy, and supportiveness.
Dependency (D): expressions of reliance on some person or thing external to the membership.
E: this category is reserved for the relatively few statements in which some affect is clearly present but is too confused or diffuse to be placed in any one or any combination of the above categories.

Each of the two observers made these judgments independently. After the meeting was over the observers compared their ratings and resolved any disagreements. In this way a single record was obtained for each sample, which represented the best combined judgment of two independent raters. It was originally intended to rate two 20-minute samples for each meeting. This proved to be impossible in some cases because of role-playing or subgrouping activities. The rated samples for each meeting range from 19 to 114 minutes in length, with a mean of 60.4.

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[2] Herbert A. Thelen and Dorothy Stock.

[3] The Behavioral Rating System is described in detail in Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation,* Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954, Chapter 3.

2. The identification of natural units. A procedure for identifying natural units of group interaction[4] was developed by Saul Ben-Zeev. This procedure involves identifying points in the group discussion where a shift can be identified in the particular subgroup that is actively participating. A series of such points marks off a series of units of varying length. Each unit is homogeneous with respect to the particular subgroup participating, and different in this respect from the units preceding and following it. The unitizing procedure is based on the theoretical assumption that because of their individual valency pattern different members "carry" different kinds of work-emotionality operations in the group. Consequently, when there is a definable shift in participation pattern this is likely to reflect a shift in the kind of work and emotionality being expressed and in the character of the content.

The unitizing procedure was applied to the rated samples, and permitted each meeting to be divided into 4 to 20 natural units of interaction which range from 3 to 18 minutes in length.

3. The characterization of the units. For each unit, the average work level per statement and the average amount of emotionality expressed per statement were computed.

4. The characterization of the meetings.

a. For each meeting, the mean and variance for both work and emotionality were computed.

b. Field graphs were constructed for each meeting. The field graph[5] represents each natural unit as a point on a graph in which the abscissa represents average work level per statement for the unit and the ordinate represents average emotionality expressed per statement for the unit. Successive units are connected with arrows so that their sequence can readily be followed.

TREATMENT OF DATA AND RESULTS

1. Each unit was characterized in terms of average work level per statement and average amount of emotionality expressed (all emotional categories combined). These means are shown in Table 38.

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[4] For a detailed description and manual, see *ibid.*, chap. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, chap. 6.

Table 38

AVERAGE WORK LEVEL AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF EMOTIONALITY PER STATEMENT * FOR ALL UNITS AND ALL MEETINGS

	Meeting												
Unit	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*
1	1.74 .39	1.72 .25	1.97 .29	1.93 .33	1.33 .42	1.75 .12	2.26 .13	1.90 .30	2.37 .15	2.60 .16	2.00 .04	2.86 00	3.00 00
2	1.59 .46	1.84 .32	1.92 .24	2.25 .37	1.82 .53	1.61 .50	2.11 .67	1.67 .69	2.46 .33	2.48 .26	2.00 .15	3.00 00	2.43 .14
3	2.00 .33	1.76 .77	1.89 .10	1.38 .48	1.50 .38	1.75 .44	1.65 .88	1.67 .56	2.40 .44	2.22 .25	1.77 .23	2.14 .36	2.29 .29
4	1.62 .75	2.00 .44	1.89 .43	1.73 .40	1.60 .43	2.10 .60	1.60 1.00	2.14 .11	2.75 .25	1.86 .20	2.09 .43	2.08 .42	2.40 .13
5	2.00 .17	1.79 .47	1.58 .42		1.71 .57	1.95 .24	1.65 .80	1.78 .48	2.57 .48	1.80 .33	2.35 .35	2.05 .38	2.44 .06
6	2.00 1.33	1.56 .61			1.76 .47	1.85 .40	2.16 .26	1.66 .79	2.52 .52	1.54 .42	1.94 .59	1.90 .14	2.22 .44
7	1.75 .83	1.87 .63			1.44 .48	1.78 .23	1.75 .21		2.10 .35	2.00 .62	2.50 .10	2.37 .12	1.44 1.00
8	1.57 .43	1.81 .57			1.59 .88	2.15 .48	2.10 .42		2.80 00	1.75 .75	2.35 .18	2.20 .43	
9	1.89 .67				1.96 .36	2.06 .10	2.81 .44		2.33 .58	2.12 .81	3.00 00	2.31 .15	
10	1.88 .67				2.43 00		2.50 .42		2.37 .75	1.79 .45	2.75 .25	2.62 .12	
11	1.71 .71								1.40 1.05	2.00 .23	2.54 .31		
12	1.56 .33								1.76 .38	1.83 .08	2.71 .43		
13	1.62 .14								1.92 1.06		2.44 .44		
14	1.57 .29								1.48 1.06		1.65 .96		
15	1.87 .25										2.25 .40		
16	2.00 .70										2.11 .44		
17	1.50 .70										2.48 .33		
18	1.14 .41												
19	1.75 .50												
20	1.75 .58												

* The upper left figure in each cell is the average work level. The lower right figure in each cell is the average amount of emotionality expressed.

2. Each meeting was characterized by computing the average work level for all units within the meeting. The range was determined by computing

the variance within each meeting and by recording the mean work level of the lowest and highest units for the meeting. The same procedure was followed with respect to emotionality. These findings are shown in Table 39.

3. In order to summarize in general terms the relationships between work level and amount of emotionality expressed in each meeting, the field graph was divided into quadrants, as follows:

Average E per	II	I
statement	III	IV
	Average W per statement	

The over-all average work per statement for all units constituted a point at which the graph was divided vertically into high and low work. The over-all average emotionality per statement for all units constituted a point at which the graph was divided horizontally into high and low emotionality. Quadrant 1 thus represents high work in combination with high emotionality; Quadrant 2 represents low work and high emotionality; Quadrant 3 low work and low emotionality; and Quadrant 4 high work and low emotionality. The frequency with which units appeared in each of the quadrants for each meeting is shown in the last four columns of Table 39.

Table 39

THE OVER-ALL WORK AND EMOTIONALITY CHARACTERISTICS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF UNITS INTO QUADRANTS, FOR ALL MEETINGS.

Meeting	*Number of minutes rated*	*Number of units*	*W Characteristics*			*E Characteristics*			*Distribution of units among quadrants*			
			M	*low-high*	*σ2*	*M*	*low-high*	*σ2*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
1	114	20	1.72	1.14–2.00	.044	.53	.14–1.33	.073		13	7	
2	54	8	1.79	1.56–2.00	.014	.51	.25– .77	.026		6	2	
3	34	5	1.85	1.58–1.97	.019	.30	.10– .43	.015		2	3	
4	19	4	1.82	1.38–2.25	.100	.40	.33– .48	.003		1	2	1
5	52	10	1.71	1.33–2.43	.088	.45	00– .88	.042		7	2	1
6	59	9	1.89	1.61–2.15	.031	.35	.10– .60	.028	2	2	4	1
7	75	10	2.06	1.60–2.81	.144	.52	.13–1.00	.080	4	3	1	2
8	34	6	1.80	1.66–2.14	.030	.49	.11– .79	.053		4	1	1
9	92	14	2.23	1.40–2.75	.179	.53	00–1.08	.108	5	3	1	5
10	76	12	2.00	1.54–2.60	.088	.38	.08– .81	.051	1	4	4	3
11	95	17	2.29	1.65–2.75	.124	.33	00– .96	.049	4	2	3	8
12	48	10	2.35	1.90–3.00	.119	.21	00– .43	.026	2		1	7
13	33	7	2.32	1.44–3.00	.183	.29	00–1.00	.102	1		1	5
Mean			2.01			.41						

4. Field graphs were drawn for all meetings. Some sample field graphs are presented in the following section on discussion of results.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results will be discussed as they are pertinent to the questions raised in the introduction.

1. Does this group show changes through time with respect to the quality of work expressed? With respect to the range of work level expressed?

2. Does this group show changes through time with respect to the amount of emotionality expressed? With respect to the range of emotionality expressed?

In general, this group can be described as maintaining about the same level of expression of emotionality during the course of its development, but showing a fairly steady increase in average work level.

The average work level for all the meetings combined is 2.01. One would expect this finding from the way the work levels are defined. Two-level work, consisting as it does of searching for task and organization and of follow-through on suggestions and plans would be expected to be predominant over a long period of time. The mean work level for successive meetings shows a general tendency toward an increase over time (Table 39). The average work level for the first six meetings is below the over-all average; while the average work level for the last five meetings is above the over-all average.

The variance in work for each of the meetings shows some tendency for the range of work expressed to increase over time. An inspection of the high and low work average for each meeting shows that this increase is accounted for by a gradual expansion toward the upper limits of the 4-point work scale. That is, there are some units in every meeting in which the average work level is somewhere between 1 and 2. This indicates that throughout the life of the group there are periods when much personally determined, nongroup-oriented work is going on. But as the group moves along more units appear in which the average work level is between 2 and 3, or at 3. This suggests that as time goes on the group becomes relatively more focused on problems of the group as a whole, and more able to deal creatively with them. Note that the low averages in the early meetings do not mean that no 3- or 4-level work occurs, but that the high-level work, even if introduced by one or two members of the group, is not picked up by others and sustained as an operating characteristic of the group-as-a-whole.

With respect to emotionality, for the group experience as a whole, a little less than half the total statements (41 per cent) contained detectable affect. Although there is some fluctuation in the amount of affect expressed from day to day and considerable fluctuation from unit to unit within each day's operation (see Table 38), there is no over-all tendency for the expression of affect to increase or decrease. The one possible exception to this is the drop in average E shown for the last two days. (This may be an effect of anticipating the break-up of the group.)

The range in amount of emotionality expressed again shows some variation from meeting to meeting, but in general is about the same in the earlier meetings as in the later ones. All this suggests that this group early established a standard for itself with respect to the extent to which feeling was to be expressed and that it henceforth operated within these limits. Combining this finding with the ones concerning the progression toward units of higher level work, it would seem that emotionality is expressed with increasingly higher work levels.

To summarize, this group can be described as establishing, early in its development, rather wide limits for itself with respect to the amount of affect expressed in the group, and then continuing to operate fairly consistently within these same limits. The level of work expressed gradually increases during the course of the group's development. While early meetings are often characterized by dealing with personally oriented needs and searching for a task, later meetings are more typically characterized by creative, group-focused work. Some group-focused work is introduced during the early meetings, but it does not find consistent response and does not become characteristic of the group as a whole until later. Similarly, although non-task-relevant, personally oriented behavior also occurs during the later meetings, it is less likely to become characteristic of the group as a whole. The description so far is a general one; many exceptions occur, but on the whole this is the developmental trend.

3. Does this group show changes through time with respect to the relationship between work and emotionality?

4. Does this group exhibit identifiable phases in its development?

The relevant information for dealing with these questions is the distribution of the units for each meeting into the four quadrants of the field graph. Before discussing these findings (shown in the last four columns of Table 39), the significance of operating in each of these areas of the field graph will be considered in more detail.

Quadrants 2 and 3 represent low work. For this group all units appearing in these two quadrants have an average work level of less than 2.01, which means that, most typically, the interaction involves either the introduction of personal concerns irrelevant to the work the group is engaged in at the time, or a searching about for a task or a way of organizing themselves in order to work. These two quadrants differ in the extent to which this kind of work activity is infused with affect:

Quadrant 2 represents a combination of low work and high emotionality. In this group this means that at the same time personally oriented and searching activities are going on, almost half the statements being made are feeling statements. With respect to their emotional quality, units appearing in this quadrant are likely to be excited, involving, and tension-producing.

Quadrant 3 represents a combination of low work and low emotionality.

Here, the quality of the work is the same as in Quadrant 2, but it is brought in with relatively little feeling. The emotional quality is one of lack of involvement and of flatness.

Quadrants 1 and 4 represent high work. All units appearing in these two quadrants have an average work level of more than 2.01, which means that, most typically, the work activity involves making suggestions, establishing group commitment, following through on plans, or interpreting the group's activities. Some of this activity may be very creative in character.

Quadrant 1 represents relatively high-level, group-oriented work accompanied by the expression of a great deal of affect. The group is likely to be excited, eager, and involved.

Quadrant 4 represents relatively high-level, group-oriented work accompanied by little affect. The group is working hard, but is sober and rather deliberative and intellectual in its approach to its task.

In looking at the development of this group in terms of quadrant operation (see the last 4 columns of Table 39), four phases emerge:

Phase I: During the first three meetings the group operates entirely in quadrants 2 and 3. This suggests that these meetings constitute a period of exploration that most probably includes (1) attempts to define a task or a way of organizing the group for work, and (2) personal reactions of the members to the new group situation: perhaps trying to influence the group to a consideration of their own needs, by jockeying for power, protecting personal needs to withdraw, demanding protection from the leader. Any or all of these behaviors might be occurring, depending on the personal needs of the members.

The field graph of Meeting 2 is presented as an illustration of the kind of pattern that occurred during this first phase.

Discussion of the field graph: The first two units of this sample occur in Quadrant 3. That is, the sample begins in a desultory, uninvolved way. After Unit 3 the emotional tone becomes more heightened and excited, but the activity continues to show a lack of direction and organization.

Content: During this meeting the group discusses when to have a break, whether to have coffee, the role of the training associate, and whether to have a recorder. These topics have in common the fact that settling any one of them would contribute structure to the group and help to provide a framework for its operation. The group does not discuss these issues systematically, but moves from one to another and returns several times to each. A decision is reached only for the first problem. The feeling tone is one of aimlessness and increasing frustration.

Phase II: The next two meetings (4 and 5) show the beginning of a movement into more organized work, although the pattern described for Meetings

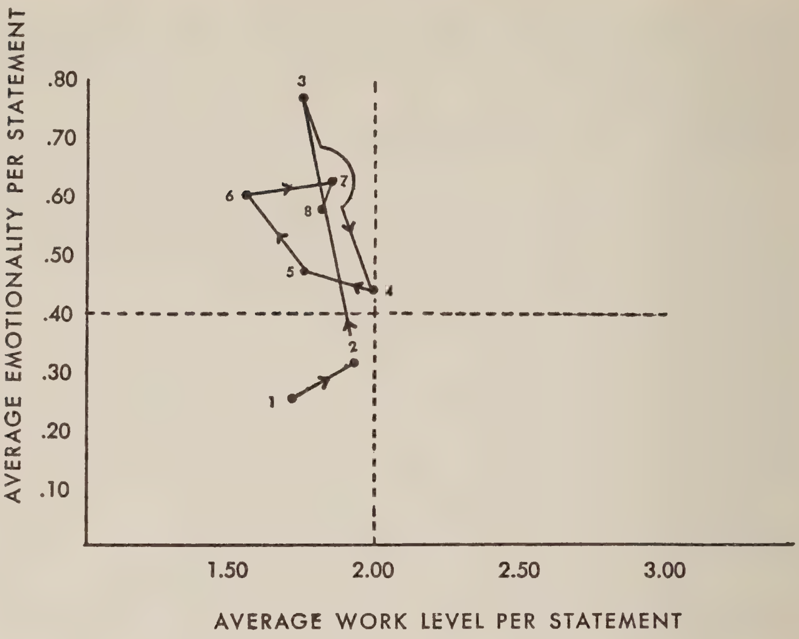

Figure 6. Field Graph of Meeting 2

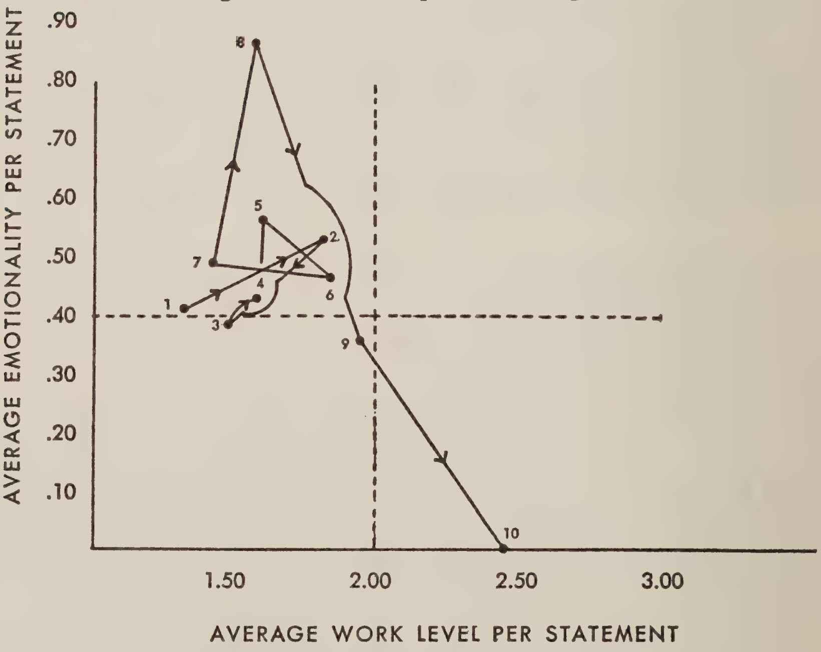

Figure 7. Field Graph of Meeting 5

1–3 still predominates. When higher-level work is expressed it is sober and intellectual in character and is accompanied by little affect.

The field graph of Meeting 5 is presented as an illustration of the kind of pattern that occurred during this second phase.

Discussion of the field graph: The first 8 units of the sample show much the same pattern as did the sample for Meeting 2. The group introduces much affect into the discussion, which deals mainly with exploration or routine tasks and is interlaced with many expressions of individual need and concern. At the very end of the rated sample the group moves more systematically toward defining and working on a group problem. When the group moves into this more work-oriented period the expressed affect drops out entirely. The discussion is sober and considered in character.

Content: The group begins by routinely examining the postmeeting questionnaires from the preceding meeting. They seem bored and there are several attempts to flight. The group finds it difficult to interpret the questionnaires and tension builds up. They move into a general flight from the task and leave it without completing it. Following this, the group begins to discuss the problem of clique formation. (This is a real problem to them, since subgroup discussions during the previous meeting have led to a greater feeling of loyalty to the subgroup than to the total group.) There is much interest in this issue and a lot of explosive feeling is expressed. Note that although the group is now discussing a meaningful problem the interaction still occurs in Quadrant 2. This is a reflection of the fact that most of the comments are personal reactions to the clique situation. The group moves into Quadrant 4 at the very end of the sample when the trainer and a few others summarize the group's feelings and generalize about the problem of clique formation.

Phase III: Meetings 6–11 cover the full range of the graph and constitute a third phase of this group's operation. The significant change here is that the group is now able to operate in Quadrant 1. That is, they are now able to maintain some periods of high-level work, during which they also express considerable affect. Previously, units highly saturated with affect also tended to show individually oriented work. The increased ability to operate in Quadrant 1 suggests that the group is now able to release feelings in more constructive ways, ways that support or are integrated with the work of the group.

The field graph of Meeting 11 is presented as an illustration of the kind of pattern that occurred during this third phase.

Discussion of the field graph: The first six units of this sample show essentially exploratory work accompanied by a gradual increase in the expression of affect (presumably a building up of involvement). In the next five units the group is operating in Quadrant 4; that is, it sustains for a period of time a high-level attack on some problem or problems. The activity during this period appears to consist of introducing ideas about how to attack a problem, elaborating and following through on plans, summarizing. (It is interesting to note that Units 9–12 are similar to Units 1–4, in that both represent a gradual increase in the expression of affect. They differ in that the second sequence represents a higher level of work.) This work orientation remains through Units 12 and 13, but the discussion becomes more saturated with affect. It is as though the group at this point is able to absorb a great deal of feeling; perhaps members are fighting or flighting, or expressing personal anxieties, while maintaining group-focused work activity. The movement in the next unit (No. 14) into more pervasive expressions of affect with a loss of the work orientation suggests that operation in Quadrant 1 may be inherently unstable. The group recovers its work orientation (Unit 15 to the end) almost immediately and maintains it until the end of the sample.

All this suggests that at this point in its development the group deals with the expression of affect in two ways: by integrating its expression with a high level of work (that is, operating in Quadrant 1); and by recovering rather quickly from the massive expressions of affect that do occur (Units 15 and following).

Content: The rated sample in this case is the entire meeting. Because of the complex nature of the interaction (which occurs in all four quadrants), the content will be summarized unit by unit. This makes it possible to match the content summary with the work-emotionality summary presented above.

The group begins with the rapid consideration of certain housekeeping details, such as deciding when to schedule a report from the research team (Units 1 and 2), and then moves into a discussion of how hard it is to warm up after a week end (Units 3 and 4). Unit 5 consists of a rather intellectual discussion of how a group can influence attitude change. Unit 6 is a somewhat more disturbed discussion in which members try to decide whether or not they are disappointed with the group. There is an undercurrent of tension during this unit. A new emotional tone is set in Unit 7, principally by the leader, who reviews for the group his feelings about this and previous groups he has led. In Unit 8 other members bring in their feelings in much the same way. At the close of this unit one member tells the group that they are running away from their main problem, which is what to do about a hostile member. (Two days previously the group aired their feelings about this person, but did not resolve the problem. On the previous day the group flighted from this issue.) In the unit that follows (No. 9), the group discusses in a very sober and impressive way just why this has constituted such a problem for them. In Units 10–13 the group continues to discuss this problem, particularly the way in which they might handle the hostile interpretations that this member is prone to make, whether his comments have at times been justified, and whether the member has felt a part of the group. In Unit 14 the group asks this member how he feels. The unit consists mainly of a highly defensive and attacking outburst from this member and other members' reactions to it. In the concluding units of the meeting the group agrees that the member may continue to be hostile but that the group need no longer be disturbed by this. Following this the group for the first time expresses friendly feelings toward this member and "takes him into" the group. There is a feeling of satisfaction, with much group pairing expressed.

Phase IV: The last two meetings show a trend for most of the group's activities to occur in Quadrant 4. That is, the group is still working hard, but has to some extent withdrawn its affect and presumably its involvement. Two possible explanations come to mind: one, this may be a closing-off characteristic. In prepartion for its disbandment, the group may be less willing to deal with affect-producing problems. A second possibility is that the combination of high work and low emotionality represents a further stage in this group's development. Possibly the operation in all four quadrants characteristic of Phase III persisted only as long as major process problems remained unresolved. (The dealing with a hostile member occurred in Meeting 11, the last major process problem with which this group dealt.) With these problems resolved, the group might be able to deal with problems on a less affect-saturated level.

The field graph of Meeting 12 is presented as an illustration of the kind of pattern that occurred during this final phase.

Description of the field graph: This sample begins (Units 1 and 2) with high work expressed without any accompanying emotionality. Units 3, 4, and 5 represent essentially 2-level work with some building up of affect. Probably the group is following through on a plan and involving itself in it. Unit 6 represents a momentary drop in interest and involvement in the task. In the remaining units, 7–10, the group is again investing energy in a group-focused task.

Content: In Units 1 and 2 several members express an interest in an activity that would help them increase their sensitivity to group process. They relate this need to some of their experiences in this group. In Units 3, 4, and 5 other members join in and an idea for some role-playing is worked out. Unit 6 represents a routine listing of points to be considered in the role-playing. There is a break between Units 6 and 7. During this time the role-playing scenes take place. In Units 7–10 the group discusses the role-playing scenes. They relate their need to discuss sensitivity to the events of the preceding day. They agree that they feel some residual tension but that the problem of the hostile member is really solved.

The content of this meeting suggests a third possible explanation for the withdrawal into Quadrant 4 characteristic of the fourth phase. It is possible that this is a temporary reaction to the affect-saturated meeting of the previous day. If this is true, Meetings 12 and 13 are only temporary breaks in an ongoing third phase. If the group experience had not ended after Meeting 13 it is possible that the interaction would have regained its Phase III character. It seems impossible from the evidence available to choose among these three alternative explanations.

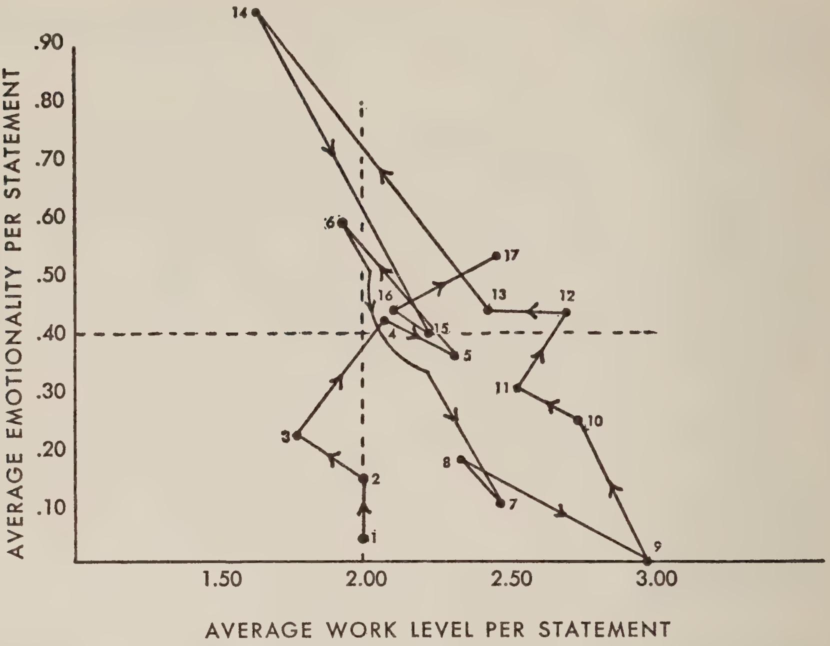

Figure 8. Field Graph of Meeting 11

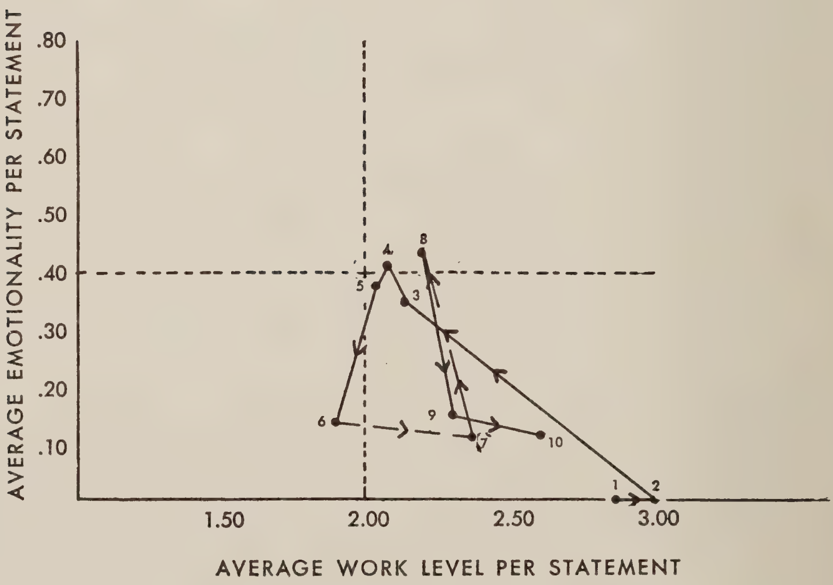

Figure 9. Field Graph of Meeting 12

SUMMARY

Description of this group. This training group can be characterized generally as operating within fairly wide and constantly maintained limits for the expression of affect. (There is some drop in the amount of affect expressed in the last two meetings.) With respect to work, the group tends to move from initially personally oriented, exploratory kinds of work to more group-focused activities. As the meetings progress, the group shows an increased ability to integrate the expression of affect with constructive work activities.

Four developmental phases can be identified for this group. During the first phase (Meetings 1–3) the group members are concerned mainly with attempting to define a direction for themselves and a way of organizing themselves so that work may be done. Individuals are concerned with expressing personal needs and exploring the kinds of gratifications they may expect in the group. The affective tone ranges from flatness to high excitement. During this phase, no single problem is pursued in an orderly fashion; the group finds it difficult to reach consensus or to find solutions to its problems.

During the second phase (Meetings 5 and 6) the group has begun to address itself to specific problems, but its most characteristic approach consists in each member's introduction of his personal reactions into the situation. Some summarizing and organizing goes on, but it tends to be carried by only a few members of the group. The higher-level work is not accompanied by intense feeling. It is as though, when this kind of directed and more organized work is going on, it must be done in a sober and intellectual fashion, and possibly is a flight from emotionality. We can infer that when much affect is introduced the group tends to lose its work orientation.

During the third phase (Meetings 7–11) the group operates in a wide range of work and emotional situations. It still shows periods of high excitement and personally oriented activity. It still sometimes appears uninvolved in any group task, and much of its work activity is of the intellectual sort described above. But there are also periods of high-level work infused with considerable affect. The group shows a new ability to express feelings constructively and creatively. Affect-laden statements are now dealt with in one of two ways: either they are immediately useful to the work task (as when someone's hostile comment leads to a needed clarification) or they lead to brief periods of massively expressed emotionality and loss of work orientation from which the group recovers very quickly.

During the fourth phase (Meetings 12 and 13) the group characteristically engages in high-level work but introduces less affect into its discussion. It is as if it is withdrawing its affective energy from the group activities. It is possible that this is a development to be expected after Phase III. Perhaps at this point the group has resolved most of its interpersonal problems and can deal with issues in a more considered and less excited way. Alternatively, members may be withdrawing some of their emotional energy from the group experience in anticipation of its termination. A third possibility is that this is a temporary departure from Phase III activity and that if the group had gone on Phase III might have become stabilized as this group's characteristic pattern as a mature group.

Implications for the development of other groups. There is no indication that the particular developmental characteristics of this group would necessarily be found in other groups. For example, a group with a more directive leader might show a briefer exploratory phase, or an entirely different kind of first phase. Or, a group whose composition did not include a persistently hostile member might move into a less affect-laden kind of problem solving more quickly than this group did. It is our feeling, however, that the *method* for characterizing group development illustrated here *is* transferable to other groups. That is, the analysis of a group in terms of its work and emotionality characteristics and the changing relationships between the two appears to be a profitable way of characterizing group development.

The analysis of this group suggests, at least as a hypothesis, that movement toward maturity may mean, for the group, learning to channel its available emotional energies into the common task of the group; and, for the individual, learning to express personal needs in a way that can be constructively utilized by the group as a whole. It may eventually be possible to identify a fairly limited number of developmental patterns. One would expect the particular pattern displayed by any one group to be related to such factors as leader approach, group composition, and external task demands.

CHAPTER XXII

Intersubgroup Dynamics as a Factor in Group Growth[1]

THE WORK-EMOTIONALITY CHARACTERISTICS of a group represent a complexly integrated resultant of the valency patterns of the individual members. To account for the course of development of a group we must ultimately spell out the ways in which individual members reinforce, oppose, and check one another, and the ways in which they contribute and respond to the work-emotionality states of the group as a whole. In a group of sixteen or eighteen members the network of interactive possibilities is extraordinarily complex.

In Part D an approach to understanding group operation was presented that offers a way of tremendously simplifying the problem of relating individual valencies to the developmental characteristics of the total group. In Hill's study (Chapter 11) the members of a single training group were shown as operating together in a small number of subtypes. The members of a single subtype shared certain need characteristics that influenced the ways in which they behaved in the group. The character and distribution of subtypes ought also to be related to the course of development of the group over time.

This chapter reports a study in which the development and subtype structure of two groups were described. It investigates the relationships between differences in development and differences in structure, and demonstrates that there is, at least for these two groups, a reasonable and close relationship between these factors.

THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN TWO TRAINING GROUPS

A sixteen-member and an eighteen-member training group were studied. These will be referred to as Groups A and B, respectively. The developmental characteristics of Group A have already been described in some detail in Chapter 21. In the present section we will present comparable data for both groups and summarize their developmental characteristics.

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[1] This study was conducted by Dorothy Stock and William F. Hill.

A. *The data on interaction*

Both groups were observed and a sample of each meeting was rated according to the Behavioral Rating System.[2] This rating procedure characterizes the quality of the work and the emotionality contained in each statement made during the sample of group interaction. These rated samples were divided into natural units of interaction and the average work level and average amount of emotionality (all emotional categories combined) per statement were calculated for each unit. The means for Group A were shown in Table 38 in the preceding chapter. The means for Group B are shown in Table 40, below.

Table 40

AVERAGE WORK LEVEL AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF EMOTIONALITY PER STATEMENT * FOR ALL UNITS AND ALL MEETINGS OF GROUP B

	Meeting													
Unit	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*
1	2.00 .25	1.90 .60	2.00 .50	1.90 .50	2.30 .64	2.00 1.00	2.00 .70	1.76 .50	2.00 .80	1.00 1.30	1.60 1.25	1.90 .80	1.90 1.00	2.20 .55
2	1.80 .70	1.80 .60	2.00 .75	1.90 1.20	1.80 .45	2.00 .90	2.20 .80	1.50 .85	1.90 .60	1.80 1.20	2.00 1.15	2.00 1.00	2.05 .70	2.10 .40
3	1.90 .20	2.10 .80	2.20 .50	2.00 .70	1.90 .45	1.90 .60	2.00 .65	1.65 .35	1.75 .80	2.10 .66	1.80 .60	2.40 .73	2.10 .80	2.30 .83
4	1.97 .80	2.10 .34	1.90 .70	1.75 .80	2.00 .50	1.85 .85	2.00 1.30	1.85 .10	1.90 .80	2.20 1.30	1.70 1.00	1.80 1.30	1.90 .83	2.10 .60
5	1.90 .40	2.00 .55	2.20 1.20	1.90 .55	1.80 .60	1.95 .80	1.90 .85	1.80 .66	1.80 .60	2.40 .80	1.80 1.00	1.96 1.30	1.90 .85	2.40 .40
6	1.80 .70	1.90 .20	2.10 .60	1.90 1.10	1.70 1.00	2.10 .70	1.70 .60	1.96 .76	2.30 .15	2.20 .76	1.60 .60	1.80 1.00	1.80 1.00	2.15 .50
7	2.00 .29	1.70 .90	2.40 .90	1.80 1.50	1.90 1.00		1.90 .65	2.00 .15	2.05 .45	1.90 1.30	1.60 1.00	2.20 .40	2.16 1.30	2.00 .60
8	1.80 .75	2.00 .30	2.10 .50	1.75 1.50	2.10 .70			1.80 .30	2.05 .35	2.10 1.00	1.80 .33		1.90 .90	
9	1.80 .80	2.10 1.10	2.00 .30	1.75 1.05	2.40 .90					1.66 1.20	1.55 1.30		1.80 1.10	
10	2.00 .20	1.90 .60	2.00 .15	2.00 .66	1.90 .90								2.00 1.03	
11	1.75 .50	2.00 .85	2.00 .30										1.80 .83	
12	1.50 .50	2.10 .90	1.90 .60										2.10 .90	
13	1.80 .70	1.85 .39	1.90 .40										1.90 1.30	
14	1.70 .50	2.00 .90											2.00 .40	
15		1.90 .80												

* The upper left figure in each cell is the average work level. The lower right figure in each cell is the average amount of emotionality expressed.

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[2] This procedure is described on pp. 193–94.

The same data summarized for each *meeting* of Groups A and B are shown in Table 41. In addition, graphs showing the daily averages for work and emotionality are shown in Figures 10, 11, 12, and 13.

Table 41

THE AVERAGE WORK LEVEL PER STATEMENT AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF EMOTIONALITY EXPRESSED PER STATEMENT FOR ALL MEETINGS OF GROUPS A AND B

	Group A				*Group B*			
Meeting	*Number of minutes rated*	*Number of natural units*	*Mean work level*	*Mean emotionality*	*Number of minutes rated*	*Number of natural units*	*Mean work level*	*Mean emotionality*
1	114	20	1.72	.53	60	14	1.84	.50
2	54	8	1.79	.51	92	15	1.96	.40
3	34	5	1.85	.30	65	13	2.05	.50
4	19	4	1.82	.40	60	10	1.87	.25
5	52	10	1.71	.45	56	10	1.98	.70
6	59	9	1.89	.35	40	6	1.97	.25
7	75	10	2.06	.52	40	7	1.96	.50
8	34	6	1.80	.49	40	8	1.79	.50
9	92	14	2.23	.53	41	8	1.97	.55
10	76	12	2.00	.38	43	9	1.93	1.40
11	95	17	2.29	.33	40	9	1.72	.40
12	48	10	2.35	.21	36	7	2.01	.60
13	33	7	2.32	.29	100	14	1.95	.36
14					40	7	2.18	.40
Mean, all meetings			2.01	.41			1.94	.74

B. *Comparison of the developmental characteristics of Groups A and B*[3]

Work characteristics: The two groups show about the same over-all mean work level. For Group A the mean work level is 2.01, while for Group B it is 1.94 (Table 41). When a test of significance is applied to these means, T is found to equal 1.13 and is not significant. However, Figures 10 and 11 show that in Group A the average work level increases steadily over the thirteen meetings; while in Group B the average work level fluctuates with-

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[3] When considering the above data it is important to remember that a different pair of observers watched each group. Although all four observers were carefully trained in the use of the Behavioral Rating System, it is to be expected that each pair would reach implicit agreements that would make their ratings somewhat different from those of the other pair. In comparing the official ratings of the two teams on a group used for this purpose only, it was found that their work ratings were very close ($r = .94$); ratings of emotionality, on the other hand, resulted in a correlation of only .46. This correlation appeared to be mainly accounted for by the fact that the team which observed Group B "saw" much more emotionality in the group than did the team that observed Group A. In other words, the Group B observers had a lower threshold for the detection of emotionality than had the other team. Thus, comparisons of the work ratings can be made more confidently than comparisons of the emotionality ratings.

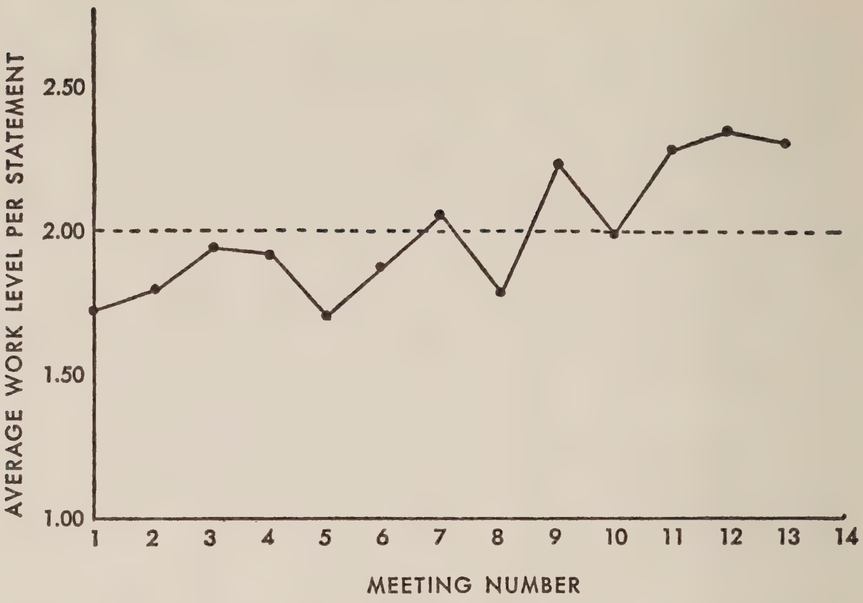

Figure 10. Group A: Average Work Level per Statement for All Meetings

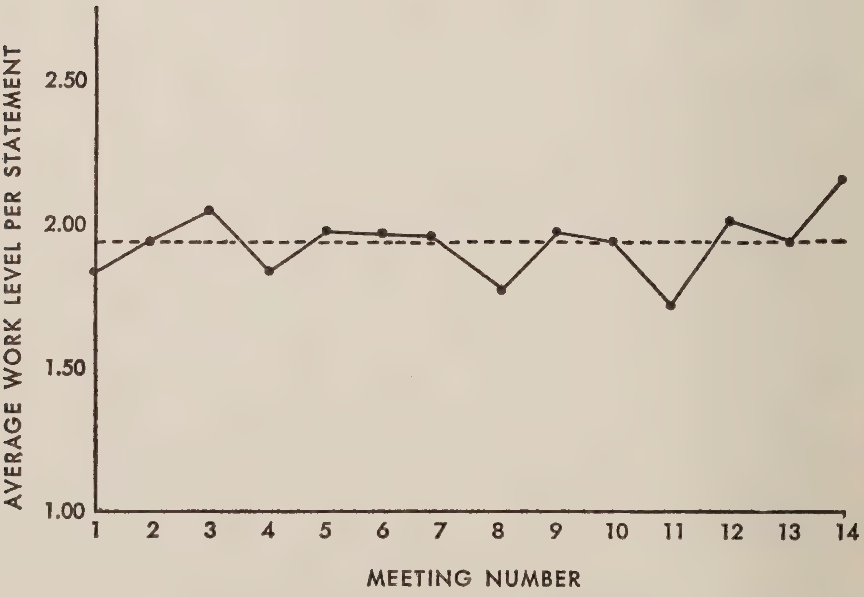

Figure 11. Group B: Average Work Level per Statement for All Meetings

out any particular tendency either to increase or to decrease. Group B also shows a somewhat narrower range of average work levels. In general, Group A shows a fairly steady movement from personally oriented and exploratory work activity to more group-focused and directed work activity. Group B, on the other hand, shows no discernible developmental trend; its activities appear to be mainly exploratory throughout its meetings.

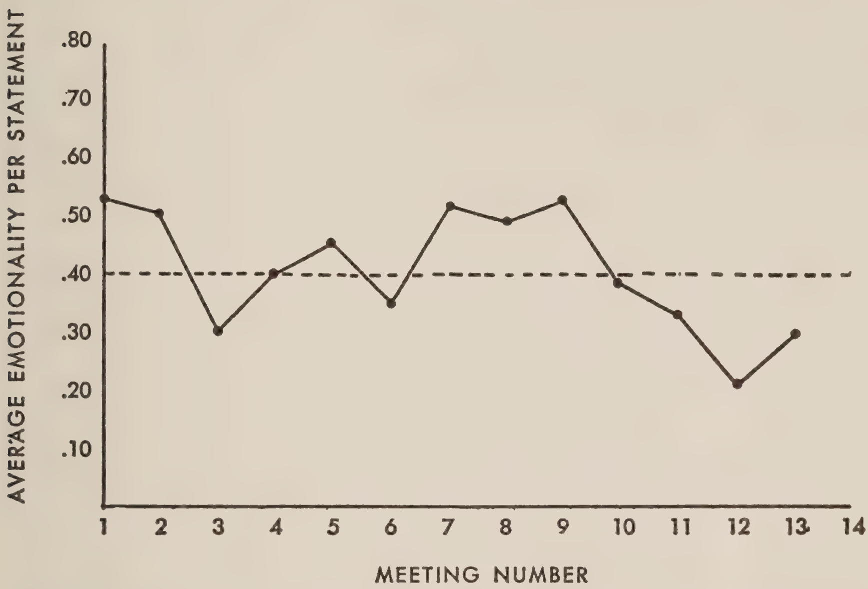

Figure 12. Group A: Average Emotionality per Statement for All Meetings

Emotional characteristics: Group B expresses relatively more affect than Group A. The average amount of emotionality expressed per statement is .74 for Group B and .41 for Group A. When a test of significance is applied to these means, *T* is found to equal 5.44, significant at the .01 level. However, this difference might be due entirely to differences between the two observing teams. We can assume, however, that each team is consistent within itself, and that therefore the day-to-day patterns of emotionality for each group can be validly compared. Group B shows a much wider range and larger fluctuations of expressed emotionality than does Group A. The tenth meeting of Group B represents an unusually large outburst of feeling. The last two meetings of Group A show a drop in expression of affect. To summarize: neither group shows any over-all tendency for the amount of affect expressed to increase or decrease over time. Group B exhibits a much wider range in the amount of affect expressed from meeting to meeting.

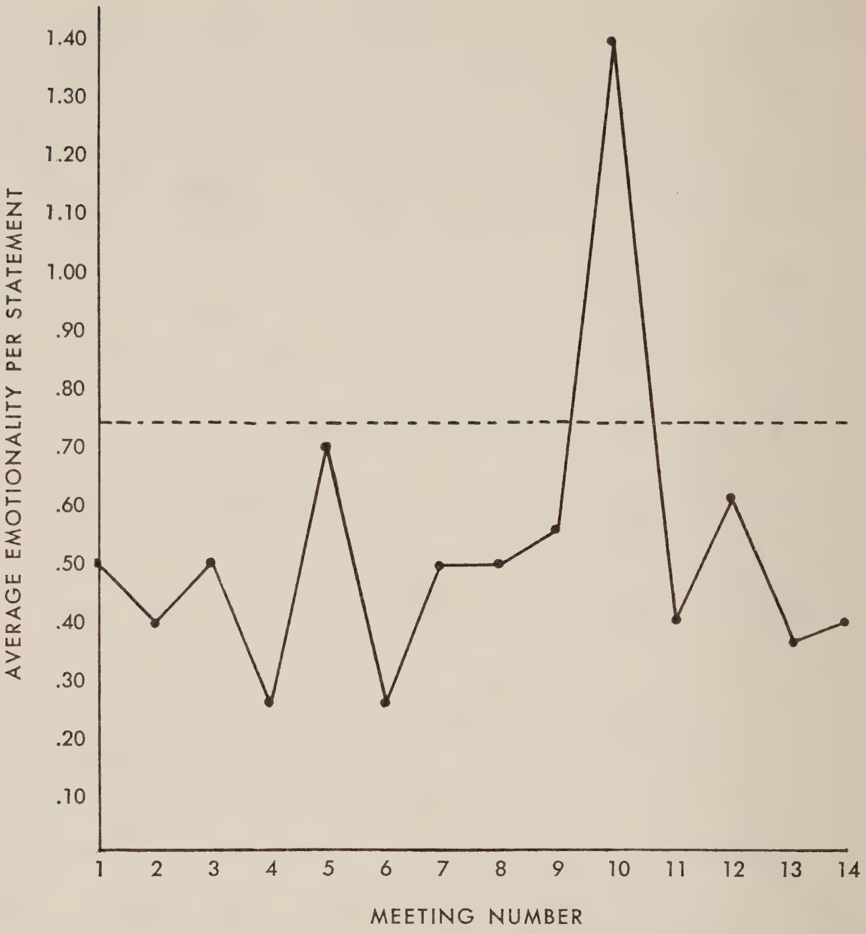

Figure 13. Group B: Average Emotionality per Statement for All Meetings

SUMMARY

The developmental characteristics of the two groups can be summarized as follows:

Group A. The character of this group's work gradually changes during its 13 meetings. Early meetings deal with personally oriented needs and with the search for a task; later meetings involve creative, group-focused work. Some group-focused work occurs in early meetings, but it neither finds consistent response nor is characteristic of the group as a whole. Similarly, nontask-relevant, personally oriented behavior also occurs during later meetings, but it does not spread nor become characteristic of the group as a whole. Group A maintains a rather steady rate of expression of affect throughout its existence, and this affect can be expressed within rather wide limits. The rate of expression of affect decreases somewhat during the last two meetings.

Group B. There is no noticeable change in the kind of work engaged in by Group B. Throughout the 14 meetings work is personally oriented, exploratory, or routine in character. Efforts at organized problem solving occur but are not followed with any consistency. Oftentimes throughout the life of the group, individuals pursue personal work interests quite apart from the concerns of the group. Group B operates at times in a state of high excitement, and there are considerable fluctuations in the amount of affect expressed from meeting to meeting.

THE SUBTYPE COMPOSITION OF THE TWO TRAINING GROUPS

The self-perceptual subtype composition of Group B has already been described in Chapter 10. In this section we will present comparable data for the two groups and summarize their respective subtype structures.

A. *The data on subgrouping*

Toward the end of the training experience each person described his own group-related behaviors and feelings. The procedure involved sorting sixty descriptive statements into a prescribed frequency distribution. One end of this distribution contained statements he considered "most like" himself, and the other contained statements he considered "least like" himself. There were 16 such self-descriptive Q-sorts from Group A and 18 self-descriptive Q-sorts from Group B. Each of these populations of Q-sorts was factor analyzed and rotated; and from this, the structure of each group's self-perceptual subtypes was identified. The self-perceptual content of each subtype was also identified, and on the basis of this information interpretations were made of the need characteristics of each subtype.[4]

The factor analyses of the self-descriptive Q-sort data yielded three factors for each group. The distribution of significant factor loadings among the members is shown in Table 42. The same information contained in Table 42 is summarized more briefly in Table 43.

In order to clarify further the subtype characteristics of the two groups, each factor grouping was characterized in terms of its self-perceptual content. The descriptive statements most and least characteristic for each factor

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[4] This procedure is described in further detail in Chapter 11. A list of the self-descriptive items is presented in Appendix B, Part 2.

Table 42

Rotated Factor Matrices of Groups A and B, Showing the Distribution of Factor Loadings * for All Members on Three Factors

		Group A				*Group B*	
Member	*Factor X*	*Factor Y*	*Factor Z*	*Member*	*Factor A*	*Factor B*	*Factor C*
1	.32	.48	—	1	.39	—	.60
2	—	−.55	—	2	.54	—	.46
3	.59	—	—	3	—	.45	—
5	—	—	.53	4	—	—	.34
6	.54	—	.55	5	—	—	.80
7	.31	—	.54	6	—	.72	—
8	.42	.59	—	7	—	.63	.44
9	.54	—	—	8	.64	—	—
10	.72	—	—	9	—	—	.55
11	.58	—	.42	10	—	.33	.48
12	.83	—	−.33	11	.30	—	.41
13	.34	—	−.49	12	—	.49	.38
14	.63	.65	—	13	—	—	.58
15	.87	—	—	14	—	.58	—
16	.69	—	—	15	.53	—	—
17	.52	—	—	16	—	.44	—
				17	.40	—	—
				18	.50	—	—

* Factor loadings under .25 are considered nonsignificant and are not listed.

Table 43

Subtypes and Subtype Membership for Groups A and B

Subtype	*Group A members*	*Subtype*	*Group B members*
X	3, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17	A	8, 15, 17, 18
		B	3, 6, 14, 16
XY	1, 8, 14	C	4, 5, 9, 13
XZ	6, 7, 11	AC	1, 2, 11
X −Z	12, 13	BC	7, 10, 12
−Y	2		
Z	5		

grouping were identified and formed the basis for an interpretative summary of the need characteristics of that subtype.[5] These interpretative summaries are presented below:

Group A. Four major subtypes were identified for this group. In addition, two members showed characteristics unique with respect to the rest of the group.

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[5] The data on which the summaries are based are presented in Appendix C for Group B, and in Appendix E for Group A.

Subtype X. These members are interested in maintaining work-oriented, nonpersonal relationships with others. They are co-operative, and compliant in the sense of being sensitive to the wishes of others and going along with them. They vigorously deny hostility in themselves.

Subtype XY. These members share Subtype X's tendency to prefer impersonal relationships with others. They differ from the X members in expressing aggression very freely and pointedly.

Subtype XZ. These members are like Subtype X members in that they are work-oriented and interested in the constructive progress of the group. In contrast with the X members, they express hostility and, particularly, pairing very freely. They are eager to establish close relationships with others. Their free expression of affect is not entirely impulsive but is controlled by their need to do constructive work.

Subtype X –Z. These members are withdrawn. They inhibit the expression of either warm or hostile feelings and are likely to become immobilized by the expression of strong feeling in the group. They are very like the Factor C members of Group B.

Subtype –Y. This member exhibits considerable confusion and anxiety. He needs the emotional support of others, yet is afraid that too much intimacy will result in loss of emotional control on his part. This member is withdrawn, but, unlike the X –Z members, his withdrawal is erratic, unstable, and accompanied by much anxiety.

Subtype Z. This member is work-oriented, and expresses both positive and negative affect very readily. He is not compliant, but is counterdependent and leader-aspiring. His freedom, flexibility, and work orientation make him a likely person to assume leadership in the group.

GROUP B. The membership of Group B is divided almost equally into five subtypes. The self-perceptual content of these subtypes is analyzed in considerable detail in Chapter II. The content will be summarized more briefly here:

Subtype A. These members are anxious about their own aggression and intimacy impulses. They control these anxieties by maintaining impersonal and work-oriented relationships with others and by attempting, through leadership behavior, to establish well-structured and work-dominated conditions in the group. This subtype expresses dependency in the form of relying on the leader to provide direction and control. The members compete among themselves for control of the group.

Subtype B. These members express a strong need for intimacy and clash. On the one hand they are interested in very wide limits on the expression of emotionality in the group; on the other they show some anxiety over the absence of control that this implies. They are interested in being in a position of control in the group so that they can establish conditions that permit the expression of feeling.

Subtype C. These members are withdrawn and immobilized by group conditions of conflict or the free expression of affect. They exhibit an excessive control over their own feelings and are extremely anxious about their own impulses to fight and pair.

Subtype AC. These members have some of the characteristics of subtype A and some of C. Like the A members, they prefer nonpersonal, work-oriented group conditions. They show some concern over their own aggressive impulses but are not as strong as the A members. These members support the leader and look to him to satisfy their status needs.

Subtype BC. These members have some of the characteristics of subtype B and some of C. They show a desire for close relationships but cannot sustain such relationships. They prefer a cohesive group in which there are close associations that are well under control and will not interfere with group-centeredness.

B. *Comparison of the Self-Perceptual Subtype Structures of Groups A and B*

The characteristics of Group A. The distribution of factor loadings shown in Tables 42 and 43 indicates that 14 of the 16 members of this group share to some degree in Factor X. The self-perceptions of these members have some common elements. This communality, even though it may not be shared explicitly or consciously, can be assumed to provide a common core of expectations and wishes that facilitates communication and common action in the group. Subtypes XY, XZ and X –Z accept this common core in some measure, but each possesses additional characteristics in the form of other factor components. The relationship of the subtypes to one another indicates some diversity as well as some communality.

When information about the content of the subtypes is added to this general structural picture it can be seen that the "core" approach in this group involves co-operation and work orientation, a desire for friendly but impersonal relationships, and a reluctance to behave aggressively. The leader (No. 17) shares in this general approach to group interaction. Six of the sixteen members can be described in these terms alone. Eight of the remaining members accept this core approach to some extent but qualify it in some way: three members (Subtype XZ) prefer a level of greater intimacy and can both express affect easily themselves and tolerate it in others. These members can be expected to attempt to initiate interaction on a more personal level and to be active when interpersonal problems arise in the group. One other member (the only representative of Subtype Z) is closely allied to this group. He is active and leader-aspiring and can be expected to assume a prominent role in the group. Three members (Subtype XY) are likely to express considerable hostility in the group; while an additional two (Subtype X –Z) are essentially withdrawn. The three Subtypes XZ, X –Z, and XY, can all be described as wishing to move the group away from its most characteristic mode of interaction. Subtypes XZ and X –Z offer a direction toward greater or less intimacy. In contrast, Subtype XY offers no direction—merely a general hostility against the ways in which the group as a whole prefers to interact. Difficulties in operating in the group as a whole are most likely to be introduced by the members of this subtype. The single member represented in Subtype –Y appears to be isolated in this group. He, along with the members of Subtype X –Z, is likely to withdraw from the group experience and be disturbed by it. Unlike the X –Z members, Member –Y is likely to show little control and much erratic behavior.

In general, then, the major emotional dimension around which this group is organized is pairing-counterpairing. Almost all the members take some stand on the kind of personal relationships they would like to prevail in the group. A standard with respect to this issue seems to be established that almost all members can accept. The designated leader exhibits the kind of pairing, without qualification, that the group as a whole is able to accept. One can speculate about the role the leader has had in establishing and maintaining this level in the group. The fight-flight dimension is not a central one for this group, but because the predominant characteristic of the group involves withdrawal from strongly expressed emotionality, one can assume that the group will have some difficulty in dealing with the aggression expressed by the members of Subtype XY.

The characteristics of Group B.[6] The pattern of factor loadings presented in Tables 42 and 43 for Group B shows the membership divided almost equally into five self-perceptual subtypes. There is no self-perceptual element common to the entire group. Subtypes A, B, and C (which have four members each) are independent of one another; while Subtypes AC and BC (three members each) share certain elements of two of the basic factors. The fact that the combination AB does not occur and that the other possible combinations do occur leads to the assumption that Subtypes A and B are more distinctly opposed to each other than are A and C or B and C. The leader (No. 18) belongs to Subtype A.

From this summary of subtype structure a picture emerges of a group in which no common need characteristics occur, in which two of the major subtypes are opposed, and in which the designated leader belongs to one of the opposed subtypes. In general, the picture is one of a divided group.

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[6] This summary is presented in Chapter 11. It is re-presented here so that the two groups can be directly compared.

When the content of each of the subtypes is added to this structural framework it becomes possible to identify more specifically the dynamics of the group. Subtypes A and B appear to be opposed in two ways. First, Subtype B shows a strong desire for intimate relationships and for direct aggressive outlets. In contrast, the members of A express anxiety over their own aggressive and intimacy impulses and prefer a more impersonal, controlled atmosphere. Second, the two subtypes are opposed in that each shows some need to be in control: the A's so that they can maintain impersonal, structured, group-centered conditions, and the B's so that wider limits for the expression of affect may be established in the group. The content for Subtype C shows that these are the withdrawn, immobilized members of the group. These members are anxiety-ridden: the overcontrol of their own fight, involvement, and competitiveness is expressed as passivity and immobility. Subtype AC shows some of the needs of A but probably does not have A's energy and drive. Similarly, the BC's are related to the B's but show more anxiety over their needs for intimacy. Neither can be expected to participate very actively in the struggle between Subtypes A and B.

In general, one would expect the group interaction to be dominated by the struggle between Subtypes A and B. This is a struggle in which resolution would be extremely difficult. The persistence of this struggle would be likely to keep the members of Subtype C (and to a lesser extent BC and AC) in a state of anxiety. For the C's, it would be likely to lead to the occasional breaking through of the overrigid control they maintain over their own feelings. Much nonwork-oriented affect is likely to be expressed. One would find it difficult to engage in work: to make decisions or to formulate or carry out plans.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERN AND SUBTYPE STRUCTURE FOR GROUPS A AND B

It can be seen that the two groups discussed in this study show very different developmental patterns and also very different self-perceptual subtype structures. We should expect that these two measures would be consistent with each other. In this section we shall discuss some of the relationships between developmental pattern and subtype structure of Groups A and B.

Group A. The principal developmental characteristics of Group A were rather steadily maintained limits for the expression of affect, and a progressive change in the kind of work most typically engaged in, from personally oriented and exploratory work to group-focused, more creative work. This group apparently developed a way of working together that enabled them to identify tasks in a fairly orderly and undistracted manner. A standard that allowed for the fairly free expression of personal feelings was maintained and, as time went on, the members learned to express their feelings in a way that furthered the work of the total group.

Turning to the subtype structure of this group, it is clear that a great majority of the members share much the same way of viewing themselves as group members. The content of the most common factor indicates that the shared perception refers to the kinds of limits they wish or are willing to put on the expression of fight and pairing. There is nothing in the data to suggest that this communality is expressed or shared explicitly, but it does suggest at least implicit agreements about the expression of feeling in the group. This structural characteristic is consistent with the finding of an early establishment and continued maintenance of consistent limits within which affect is expressed.

The subtype structure also shows considerable diversity in this group. While six of the members can be described principally in terms of the commonly shared factor, eight others accept this only in part and modify it in some way. Two of the subtypes oppose each other in wishing for greater and less intimacy in the group. A third subtype tends to introduce fight into the group. This diversity suggests that a range of problems is likely to develop, but the communality suggests that members can achieve ways of dealing with their differences. It is possible that this diversity-within-communality is related to the steadily maintained expression of affect in the group.

It is also apparent from the subtype structure that while there is potential conflict in this group, there are additional potentials for dealing with conflict. For example, Subtype X –Z is opposed to XZ, but since the X –Z's are minority members and rather weak one would not expect them to struggle much against the stronger XZ members or against the tendencies of the group as a whole (represented by X). A second illustration is seen in the relation between Subtype XY and the rest of the group: one can expect some problems to be introduced by the hostile members of Subtype XY, but one can also expect the members of Subtypes XZ and Z to be able to deal with these problems. Of the two subtypes that show leadership abilities, Subtype X on the one hand and Subtypes XZ and Z on the other, the first is more suited to dealing with task problems and the second with interpersonal problems. Since neither displays counterdependent, competitive, or strong leader-aspirant qualities one would not expect conflict to arise between these two subtypes. The one strongly leader-aspirant member

(Z) is unopposed by any other member. There are no equally strong, mutually threatening subtypes in the group.

Putting all these structural characteristics together, we have a picture of a number of subtypes so balanced and related that one would expect the group, at least eventually, to be able to deal with its problems. Another way of saying this is that this group is not likely to get involved in persistent, unresolvable conflict. This picture of diversity with eventually resolvable conflict is consistent with two of this group's developmental characteristics: its increase in ability to express affect in a way both acceptable to the entire group and integrated with the task interests of the group; and its movements from principally personally-oriented and exploratory work to principally group-focused and more creative work.

Group B. Group B shows an entirely different developmental pattern and an entirely different subtype structure. Again, the two seem compatible with each other. Unlike Group A, Group B shows no changes in mean work level, but does show wide fluctuations from meeting to meeting in the amount of emotionality expressed. Throughout its life this group seems to be searching for a task, perhaps carrying out certain tasks in a routine fashion but never finding widespread group commitment to any activity and never showing much creative insight into its own operation. A meeting or two in which excitement is high, with many outbursts of feeling, is followed by a meeting or two in which the affective tone is relatively flat and involvement is low.

The subtype pattern of this group shows no general communality among members. Moreover, two of the subtypes (A and B) appear to be opposed to each other in that, first, they wish to establish incompatible standards with respect to the expression of fight and pairing, and second, they compete for control of the group. The two opposed subtypes contain the same number of members and appear to be equally strong. In contrast to Group A, then, Group B may be characterized by diversity *and* conflict. There is little communality in the group and the potential leaders (members of Subtype A) aggressively compete with one another. The trainer is unlikely to be able to help because he is one of the competing persons. Thus, one can expect this group to be dominated by a struggle between two of its subtypes. Moreover, the total subtype organization and the other subtypes are unable to bring about a resolution of this struggle. We would therefore expect that this struggle would be maintained and that the group interaction would be pervaded with interpersonal problems.

This picture of unresolvable conflict is consistent with the developmental characteristics of periods that fluctuate widely in the amount of affect expressed. Such fluctuations might be an effect of struggle between the two opposed subtypes, with first one and then the other in control of the group interaction. Or they might reflect alternation between sessions in which this continuing conflict is expressed and sessions in which the group tends to withdraw emotionally from conflict.

The unresolvable conflict suggested by the subtype structure is also compatible with the failure to develop group-oriented work. Work is confined to the continuous introduction of personal concerns (which one would expect of a group in which a significant proportion of the members are mutually threatening) and to continuous exploratory behavior (which one would expect of a group in which there is no communality and strong conflict between subtypes).

CONCLUSIONS

A relationship appears to exist between the developmental characteristics of two training groups and their respective self-perceptual subtype structures.

In discussing these relationships we do not mean to imply that particular developmental characteristics are always or necessarily associated with particular structural relationships. One can imagine, for example, that the development displayed by Group B might be compatible with a number of different subtype structures. We do, however, mean to suggest that these two phenomena are related and that the characteristics of one are explainable in terms of the characteristics of the other. Given a certain subtype structure, there are probably limits to the course of development one can expect. One would not, for example, expect a group whose subtype structure was something like Group B's to show the developmental characteristics of Group A.

It seems likely that these two aspects influence each other mutually: the character of the subtype structure may limit the kind of development that may occur. At the same time the group experience (that is, the character of the group's development) may influence the subtype structure by sensitizing the members to certain group-emotional dimensions and not to others.

Section IV

Conclusions and Implications

CHAPTER XXIII

Summary: Implications for Theory and for Further Research

THIS RESEARCH began with concepts proposed by W. R. Bion from his experiences with therapy groups. From this base we have (1) attempted to define certain of Bion's concepts operationally, so that we could devise instruments and procedures for studying group interaction; and we have (2) used both concepts and instruments to investigate certain individual-group problems especially prominent in training groups. The procedures are described in an earlier monograph;[1] this monograph presents substantive work to date.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

We shall summarize findings relevant to each of the major problem areas presented in the body of this monograph. In each case, we shall attempt to state what is now known about the area, adequacies and inadequacies in theory, and further needed research.

Group-relevant aspects of individual personality

The concept of "valency" characterizes aspects of personality most likely to explain participation in groups. The group is perceived to exist in a series of shifting work-emotionality cultures or states. The individual is perceived to participate in the culture in his own way: reacting to it positively or negatively, acting to maintain or dissolve it, acquiescing in it silently, "speaking for" it. His reactions to the various group cultures are assumed to reflect an internalized set of predispositions, known as the individual's "valency pattern." Presumably a person's valency pattern underlies his behavior in the group, and should be related also to other factors such as his perceptions of himself, his alliances with others, and so forth.

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[1] Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation,* Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954.

To study the concept of valency, it was necessary to develop an instrument that could measure it. This instrument, the "Reactions to Group Situations Test,"[2] presents, as stimulus items, a variety of group situations. The S's responses are scored along three dimensions: acceptance or nonacceptance of the stimulus, the kind of affect introduced overtly or covertly into the response, and the manner of response. Early work established the reliability of the scoring procedure[3] and demonstrated that descriptions of individuals from the RGST protocols corresponded with descriptions of the same individuals from observations of their behavior in a group.[4]

Early uses of this instrument attempted to relate global assessments of valency tendencies to other variables. In Chapter 4 a study of relationships between valency and expressive behavior is presented. *It was found possible to establish a general correspondence between valency pattern and behavior, but this correspondence varied considerably from individual to individual.*

Chapter 5 presents a study of relationships between the emotionality predominant in the members' valency patterns and their perceptions of their own roles and of the character of the total group. The perceptual patterns that emerged were different for the various valency types and were consistent with assumptions about the psychological meaning of the emotionality category. That is, members designated (from the RGST) as predominantly pairing did perceive themselves and the group in ways consistent with the assumption that the pairing emotionality represents a need for close contact with others. The relationships, however, were complex, and appeared to be influenced by such factors as stereotypic impressions of "the good group member" and by the composition of the group.

These findings, plus observations of these persons in groups, suggested some of the complexities involved in use of the valency pattern, when applied to individuals. For example, two persons might be characterized as having tendencies for fight. But for one person this characteristic might be part of a general tendency to approach others actively, both positively and negatively. For the second person the same tendency might represent a defense against an underlying passivity. The same tendency, in other words, might serve different needs for different persons. Further, it appeared that the function the tendency served influenced the manner in which the tendency was expressed behaviorally.

As a result of such considerations, three separate but related aspects of valency pattern were identified: *affective approach* (predispositions to express certain kinds of affect in the group); *culture preferences* (preferences for operating in certain kinds of work-emotionality cultures and not in others); and *basic concern* (affective areas in which the individual experiences conflict or concern). The scoring procedure was seen to yield a fairly direct assessment of affective approach, but not of culture preference or basic concern.

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[2] See sample RGST protocols in Chapters 6 and 19, with scoring sheets and analyses.

[3] Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[4] *Ibid.*, Chap. 9.

The case studies of Chapters 6 and 19 deal with all three aspects of valency, and show the greater value of the multiple-aspect approach for understanding individuals. Many more such intensive case studies are needed to establish relationships between the three-aspect valency patterns and the specific ways individuals participate in and make use of the group situations.

Our studies confirm the view that the valency pattern is a by-product of a highly complicated process. The individual's valency characteristics result from the long series of events and experiences that constitute his developmental history. A major theoretical question is whether the valency pattern alone, representing only a current assessment, can provide adequate explanation for the complicated behaviors individuals reveal in groups. Further study is needed to identify the limits of the valency concept and the questions with which it can and cannot deal.

Member perceptions as a factor in subgrouping

In sociometric research, individuals who mutually prefer one another are regarded as a subgroup that may be opposed to or isolated from other mutual-choice subgroups. But what determines these individual preferences? And can the relations between subgroups be interpreted dynamically? It seems reasonable to hypothesize: (*a*) the valency characteristics of members would enter into the making and receiving of choices; and (*b*) the valency pattern itself might constitute a basis for identifying subgroups whose members have similar *need characteristics*. In this case, it might be possible to conceive of total group operation as a product of the interaction among types of need patterns.

The studies of Chapters 8, 9, and 10 consider sociometric choice in relation to valency characteristics. Chapters 5 and 8, dealing with the same population, found that *the "affective approach type" bears a closer relation to perceptions of self and of the total group than it does to sociometric choice.* The group composition appeared to influence sociometric choice more clearly than did affective approach type.

The study of Chapter 9 investigates whether members who chose one another positively in response to sociometric questions also tended to participate together in the group. It was found that this relationship depended on valency type. Members who *did* participate with the persons they chose tended to be more readily characterized by pairing than by fight; while members who *did not* participate with the persons they chose tended to be more readily characterized by fight than by pairing.

In Chapter 10 an attempt was made to predict sociometric choice from (*a*) the subtype structure of the group; (*b*) the "preferred modality" of the members; and (*c*) characteristics of the individual's defensive structure. It was found that the subtype structure could provide only a general context for prediction; and that prediction on the basis of (*b*) held only for individuals who were relatively unconflicted with respect to their preferred modality or modalities. For individuals who showed considerable conflict, certain defensive characteristics also had to be taken into account. The case studies of Chapters 6 and 19 used intensive analysis of the S's valency pattern to throw light on his sociometric choices. No generalizable relationships were found.

Taken together, these studies suggest some of the dynamic bases of sociometric choice. For example, certain affective approach types do not simply or necessarily make choices among their own membership; nor do they necessarily choose specific other types. Whether a member's active participation is elicited by conditions of warmth and friendliness or by conditions of conflict influences his participation or nonparticipation with the persons he chooses sociometrically. Choice is influenced *both* by considerations of who will provide support in creating a need-satisfying milieu *and* by considerations of who can help support or maintain defensive needs. Total group composition and emotional state are also influencing factors, since preoccupations of the group as a whole may focus the attention of members on certain individuals.

Further work is needed to test our final hypothesis that group composition has a limiting or focusing influence on the choices made, but that within this context individual valency characteristics (such as those explored in Chapter 10) are operative.

Hill identified subgroups from communalities among members' self-perceptions and he diagnosed needs which were characteristic of each subgroup. In this approach, total group operation is perceived as the interactions of a limited number of such self-perceptual subtypes. Chapter 11 presents an analysis of a single group; it was found that the behavioral characteristics of the major subtypes were related to their needs characteristics. In Chapter 22 the subtype structure of this group is compared with that of a second training group. The two structures were different with respect to the needs represented, the distribution of members among the subtypes, and certain major developmental characteristics of the group.

These studies support the hypothesis that *processes in unselected groups can be related to their self-perceptual subtype structures.* The expressed behavior of subtype members is consistent with the need characteristics of the subtype as inferred from common self-perceptual elements. Groups vary in the nature of their subtype structure. The character of the total group interaction, as inferred from the probable impact of the subtypes on one another, is consistent with the behavior displayed by subtypes toward one another, and with the developmental characteristics of the group as a whole.

One would expect the need characteristics of subtypes to have maximal influence in a group whose external task demands are minimal and whose content of discussion is entirely a product of the interests of the members, as was the case in our groups. In a group subjected to greater demands from the task or from the leaders one would expect the expression of personal needs to be more constricted and the influence of subtype structure to be somewhat reduced.

Valency composition and group problem solving

One generally supposes that the composition of a group will greatly influence such factors as the problems it must deal with, the amount and kinds of individual changes, and the approach of the group to the solution of its problems. Moreover, the distribution of valences within the group should provide a sensitive measure of composition. Chapters 13, 14, and 15 report studies which test these suppositions. The over-all valency characteristics of groups were assessed by summing individual valency scores from the RGST (Glidewell), and by identifying the predominant valency of individuals and then composing groups with specified valency distributions (Gradolph and Lieberman).

These studies show that the problem-solving and emotional expressions in the groups are highly consistent with the assumptions made about the psychological character of the predominant valency. Thus, Glidewell found that groups with a dominant valency for flight showed tendencies to avoid getting into problems, a narrow range of ideas, overgenerality within a rigid organization, little attention to causation, and little emotional commitment to act on their proposed solutions. In a somewhat different kind of situation Gradolph found that a flight group invested little affect in the group situation, seemed uncommitted to the task or to one another, and was interested in getting the problem over with rather than dealing realistically with the issues involved. All these characteristics are consistent with assumptions made about flight: that it is a dynamism which involves indifference, irrelevance, withdrawal from affect or affective situations; and that it functions to avoid stresses of task problems, interpersonal problems, or intrapersonal problems. Similar relationships between valency and total group characteristics were found by Glidewell to exist for fight, pairing, and dependency, and by Gradolph for pairing.

These studies demonstrate that the valency composition of a group provides a link between individual valency and total group operation, and is rather directly reflected in the kind of work-emotional operation most characteristic of the group as a whole. The composition of the group, defined as a particular combination of individual valency patterns, significantly influences total group factors such as approach to problem solving, commitment to the task, group-emotional standards, and the like.

Readiness for and characteristics of individual change

The problem areas considered so far have been concerned with properties of the group as a system, and the outcome of these studies is relationships expected to hold true regardless of whether the group is studied at the beginning, middle, or end of its life together. The remaining two problem areas deal with the group genetically, through study of changes in the individual and in the group.

Several sorts of difficulties arise in the study of individual change: (*a*) deciding what constitutes relevant change; (*b*) accounting specifically for the change as a result of identifiable aspects of experience; and (*c*) interpreting the meaning of the change for the individual. In training groups of the sort studied here, the goal is to help each member increase his understandings both of his own roles in group situations and of the nature of group functioning. Moreover, learnings occur on many different levels; a significant learning for one individual may be irrelevant for another, and an apparently limited change may have considerable importance for a particular person.

In our framework, major variables available for rating change are: (*a*) the individual's self-percept, (*b*) his affective approach, (*c*) his culture preference, (*d*) his basic concern, and (*e*) the ways in which these are related. Our first approach to change was descriptive: to ascertain which of these variables are susceptible to change. The next task was to explore the relationship of such changes to other factors.

Chapter 18 identifies changes of self-percept among the members of a training group. It was found that some shifts in self-percept do occur for some members, but that these changes are within a fairly stably maintained system of self-perceptions. Members whose self-percepts are least likely to change exhibit well-organized, internally consistent self-percepts; members more likely to change display some evidence of conflict or lack of consistency. This suggests that *the least-change persons have a greater need to maintain or protect a well-developed self-percept.*

A real problem arises in the interpretation of such change. It can be argued, for example, that changes in one's self-percepts symptomatize changes in one's personality structure. It can also be argued that changes in one's self-percepts are simply temporary adaptations to the demands of a particular group culture. Self-perceptual data alone cannot tell us which interpretation is the more likely to be correct.

Chapter 15 reports changes in another single variable: the individual's affective approach. Do persons whose dominant affective approach valency is the same change in characteristic ways? It was found that while change in affective approach definitely occurs, it could not be closely related to the members' original affective approach type. Assessment of the meaning of change requires that it be seen in the broader context of the networks of interpersonal and task demands.

Chapter 19 reports an intensive study of changes in a single individual. Interrelationships among affective approach, culture preference, and basic concern were studied both before and after three weeks of training. For this subject, the same behavioral tendency appeared to serve different needs at different times, and it was clear that to study any of the three aspects of valency without respect to the other two would provide a very incomplete picture. The three-aspect approach gave considerable insight into the meaning of a behavioral change for this individual. The problem remains, however, of relating specific aspects of change to specific conditions in the group experience. Further research is required to explore how the individual made use of the group situation: his initial reactions to the various group cultures; the events that were crucial for him; and his shifts in expressive behavior or participation pattern.

A second kind of problem with respect to change is readiness: who is likely to change and who is not (under the conditions of training). In Chapter 17 a trainability index is reported. This differentiates individuals who were seemingly able to assimilate and apply laboratory learnings from those who were not. Valencies for fight and for pairing and evidences of conflict were found to contribute to trainability. Valencies for dependency and for flight and evidences of immobilization were found to interfere with trainability.

Some of the findings of two of the studies discussed above are also relevant to this problem. In Chapter 18 it was found that individuals whose self-percepts showed evidence of inconsistency or conflict were more likely to change. This is consistent with the finding in the trainability study that conflict contributes to change: both studies suggest that the presence of some discomfort or conflict may lead the individual to attempt to utilize the group experience to resolve or relieve some of his discomfort. In Chapter 15 it was found that no single affective approach type was, in general, more likely to change than any other. In particular, the counterdependent members of one group were among the members who changed most while the counterdependent members of a second group were among the least-change members. The character, that is, the composition of the total group seemed to influence both the kinds of members who changed and the ways they changed. This finding does not appear to be consistent with the findings of the trainability study, where valencies for fight and pairing contributed to change while valencies for flight and dependency did not. Further work needs to be done to ascertain the conditions under which conflict or specific valency is more useful for assessment of readiness to change.

The dynamics of group growth

Our concepts enable us to view group development both in terms of shifting group cultures and changing relationships between work and emotionality. In Chapter 21 the latter approach is taken to the development of a single training group. During the course of thirteen meetings, this particular group moved through four phases. The first phase constituted a period of exploration and included attempts to define a task accompanied by much expression of personal need unrelated to the tasks of the group. During the second phase there was some movement toward a more organized discussion of issues; but such discussion tended to be quite without affect. During the third and longest phase the group operated in a variety of ways: the new element was that expressions of personal feelings were integrated with and supportive of the work of the group. The final phase, comprising the last two meetings, found the members withdrawing their affect from the group situation—still working hard but in a more intellectual way. It may be that this was a closing-off activity. In general, then, this group increased its ability to work effectively as a unit. Personal expressions of feeling were more relevantly introduced as time went on. The expression of affect did not decrease (except for the last two meetings), but the way affect was expressed and used did change. In our terms, work and emotionality were more integrated and mutually supportive toward the end of the group experience than at the beginning.

We do not know just how common this particular developmental pattern may be. In Chapter 22 the course of development of a second group was found to be different. Here, the entire life of the group was something like Phase 1 of the group already described. Activity was largely exploratory throughout. The group alternated periods of massive expression of affect with periods of highly inhibited expression. The developmental characteristics of these two groups were consistent with their respective self-perceptual subtype structures. For example, the second group (which did *not* show a movement toward the integration of work and emotionality) included two equally strong, mutually incompatible subtypes; other members were weak and withdrawn. In contrast, the first group (which *did* show such a development) had considerable communality among the members with respect to the way they saw themselves handling the expression of affect.

Work to date cannot tell us whether it was the subtype structure which influenced development or vice versa. Either or both are theoretically possible and further work is required in order to clarify this point.

THE BASIC CATEGORIES OF FIGHT, FLIGHT, DEPENDENCY, AND PAIRING

In the experimental studies reported in this monograph the basic concepts of fight, flight, dependency, and pairing have been used in exploring a variety of problems. Every study tells us more about the nature of each emotional modality and about the relationships among them.

In each case, the various usages are held together by a single core of meaning. Thus, fight always refers to aggressiveness and hostility. Applied to the total group culture, it means that the group is acting as if its purpose is to fight something or someone. Applied to valency, it means that an individual possesses certain predispositions to express negative feelings in the group and/or to combine with others to produce or maintain a fight culture in the group. Applied more specifically to define group-relevant aspects of personality, it may refer to affective approach (tendencies to express fight), culture preference (tendencies to prefer to operate in or feel most comfortable in fight cultures), or to basic concern (tendencies to experience anxiety or conflict with respect to one's own fight impulses). In other words, "fight" is a general concept that can be applied to all these aspects of individual-group functioning. Depending on its particular application, its specific definition may be somewhat modified; but in every case it refers to hostility and aggression. A core meaning with various applications is also true of pairing, flight, and dependency.

Consider the flight modality. As a culture, flight is dominant when the group as a whole acts as though it wishes to avoid or run away from whatever is before it. As a valency characteristic of the individual, flight represents a predisposition to distance oneself from the group experience by withdrawing or going "off the beam." Thus, by definition, flight is a syndrome of behaviors having avoidance as its central theme.

Flight was explored as a characteristic of the total group in two studies. In Chapter 13 Glidewell assessed the over-all valency characteristic of unselected groups. Certain of these groups could be described as having primary valencies for flight. Gradolph, in Chapter 14, studied an experimental group composed entirely of members whose most characteristic affective approach was flight. In both cases these flight groups approached problem solving in ways consistent with the core meanings of flight. Characteristics such as the quick dismissal of a problem, narrow range of ideas, and the constricted expression of affect, clearly reflect a tendency to avoid involvement with the group and/or the task.

Turning to the individual, Lieberman, in Chapters 5, 8, and 15, studied group members whose most characteristic affective approach could be defined in terms of a single emotional modality. In studying the sociometric choice patterns of these affective approach types, he found that the flight members, at least during the early part of their training group experience, tended to reject pairing members, for these offer a continual invitation to emotional involvement. Toward the end of the training experience these flight members tended to agree most with and feel closest to one another. They also selected one another as their major spokesmen, and significantly underchose one another as members whom they felt farthest from or with whom they agreed least. This suggests that flight members may find one another mutually supportive and may recognize a communality of interest. That is, they may turn to one another for satisfactions and reward and they may see one another as working to establish the same kind of culture in the group.

In Chapter 15, a study of the kinds of changes of various affective approach types showed that although the flight members changed in a number of different ways, they were alike in *not* changing with respect to dependency or counterdependency. This suggests a lack of emotional involvement to the point of unconcern over the extent of their own autonomy and power to influence the situation in order better to meet their own personal needs. Flight is a mechanism for avoiding something else; it is not an end in itself. We would therefore expect considerable variety in flight members, since each may be using flight to escape some specific but different stress. Individuals, alike in that they all use flight as a typical behavior, would not necessarily show much communality in their patterns of change.

In Chapter 8, members' perceptions of their own roles in the group were compared with their perceptions of the group as a whole. Significantly more than others the flight members saw themselves as more "irrelevant" and less work-oriented; and they also characterized the group this way. These perceptions are clearly consistent with flight as avoidance of work.

The flight members also saw both themselves and the group as very warm and friendly, which is not necessarily consistent with our assumptions about the nature of flight. On the basis of other information we may "explain" their perception as follows: the studies reported in Chapters 8 and 18 suggest that in general members of our training group accept the stereotype that it is good to work and to pair, and it is bad to flight; in fact, to flight is worse than to fight. Thus, the flight members have the problem of dealing with a general standard that does not accept their own tendencies. Their perception of themselves and the group as warm and friendly appears to be defensive.

This discussion of flight has been offered to illustrate the complex but coherent implications of this concept. Dependency, pairing, and fight could be discussed in similar ways.

ADDITIONAL AREAS TO BE STUDIED

We have suggested a number of additional researches in further pursuit of certain problems already explored to some extent. Here, we shall discuss several additional problems whose consideration would further elucidate theory or extend its useful applications.

A major theoretical problem requiring further research is *the process of transition from one work-emotionality culture to another.* Bion has suggested that anxiety and need account for such shifts. For example, a group may move into a dependency culture because of the satisfactions to be gained from relying on someone else to make decisions and provide direction. Yet as time goes on the members may become uneasy because the implied weakness interferes with their perceptions of themselves as adults. When this anxiety reaches a certain level the group may deal with it by moving into another culture—perhaps fight, which would direct its hostilities externally, or pairing, which would attempt to find support from within its own membership. Bion suggests that each of the work-emotionality cultures carries with it certain unique anxieties and satisfactions, and that these are the mechanisms which account for shifts from culture to culture.

One can expect each member to contribute to these shifts in a way consistent with his unique valency pattern. For example, when a group is operating in a fight culture, some members may express fight overtly and thus "speak for" the culture; others may tacitly accept the culture through their silence; still others, sensitive to the anxieties associated with the culture, may feel uncomfortable and they may oppose or modify the culture in various ways. In their individual ways they may combine to shift the basic assumption of the culture. As anxiety builds up in the group, other members may join in and eventually effect a major shift in the culture of the group.

The relation of the designated leader to other members, and his influence on group events is both a theoretical and a practical problem. In a training group, the two most relevant factors may well be his approach to training and certain personal characteristics. Training approach includes his image of what the group "should be like," the directions in which he would like it to move, his assumptions about appropriate limits, the directiveness or nondirectiveness of his leadership, and the extent to which he acts as an authority or assumes responsibility for group events. By personal characteristics we mean his valency pattern: the interrelationships of affective approach, culture preference, and basic concern. His valency pattern may not have a direct relationship to his behavior as leader because the expectations of that office impose their own performance criteria. Even so, it is more than likely that his training approach is subtly influenced by his personal needs. If he is rendered uncomfortable by close contact with others, he may in subtle ways impose on his group barriers to contact; and he may incorporate this personal need within a training approach emphasizing strict work-orientation and focus on theoretical issues. A group characteristic which is intolerable on a personal level becomes intolerable on a level of training philosophy.

If the designated leader influences the group through interpretation of process, the character and timing of his interpretations are crucial. It seems reasonable to study the *character* of interpretation in terms of the leader's valency pattern in relation to the current group culture. The *timing* of an interpretation might be studied in terms of its location within an established work-emotionality culture, or at some point in a transitional phase. It is proposed that the effect of leader interventions in delaying or facilitating shifts may be due to their alleviation or reinforcement of anxieties inherent in the cultural alternatives.

Further *study of the operation of "natural" leadership* would extend the applicability of our concepts. Bion proposed that at certain times particular individuals may "speak for" the prevailing group culture. For example, the group's demand for support from the leader may be expressed for the group by one or a few members. In the study reported in Chapter 8, it is suggestive that members in Group I tended to choose as "spokesmen" persons whose most characteristic affective approach was through counterdependency. This choice, operating consistently through many meetings, indicates a persistent concern with conflict between valencies for dependency and counterdependency; and it further suggests that this group may have operated mainly in a work-dependency culture.

Bion has at another point suggested that a particular kind of leader may be associated with each of the work emotionality cultures. For example, when a group is in a fight culture one of its characteristics is that it needs to attack something or someone. Bion has observed that at such times the group may "follow" (that is, pay special attention to, encourage to talk) a member with paranoid tendencies, because such a member can justify the fight tendencies by assuring the group that it is beset by "enemies"; or a group wishing to avoid meaningful discussion may listen with rapt attention for considerable periods of time to a member who is dull, irrelevant, or incoherent. If challenged, the group will claim that they were completely interested and absorbed. In Bion's terms, such a member is leading the group in flight.

The "basic assumption leader" is similar to Redl's "central person"[5] in that he becomes the focus around whom the group organizes itself. This process can sometimes be seen very clearly in a group; at other times whole meetings may go by without such a person's being identifiable.

Three very broad problem areas have been outlined: the problem of transitional phases, the influence of the designated leader on the group, and the operation of the "natural" leaders. Study of these problems would add knowledge relevant to our concepts of group operation.

EVALUATION OF THE THEORY

Our research has provided a test of the usefulness of most of the concepts with which we began in 1951. Perhaps the most fundamental proposition is that group interaction involves a complex interrelationship between work and emotionality. We are now convinced that any conceptual framework which includes only cognitive aspects or emotional aspects will be inadequate.[6]

Almost as indispensable for understanding group interaction is some way of characterizing the total group and also the relations among individual members' tendencies, predispositions, and group events (behaviors). The concepts of the basic assumption culture and of valency fill these needs for us. Their effectiveness lies in their utilization of the same affective categories.

Our research has indicated the range of conditions under which a generalized concept of individual valency pattern is useful. Individuals "typed" as having different "most characteristic" affective approaches also show differences in relationships between their perceptions of the self and of the total group (Chapter 5), and in sociometric choice (Chapters 9 and 10). The over-all operating characteristics of a group are consistent with the patterning of affective approach types of which they are composed (Chapters 14 and 15).

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[5] Fritz Redl, "Group Emotion and Leadership," *Psychiatry*, 5, 1942, 573–596.

[6] Since most of our work has been with groups in which there is no imposed task, we have perhaps emphasized emotionality over work. However, Glidewell's work with decision-making groups (Chapter 13) demonstrates that the emotional character of task groups influences the problem-solving characteristics of the group. Additional work with task groups, perhaps paralleling some of the work already done, is needed.

Yet the limitations of this kind of generalized "single variable" approach are also clear. An attempt to predict sociometric choice from modality preference (Chapter 10) showed that such predictions held for some members but not for others, depending on the nature of the underlying conflict. In Chapter 15 it was found that particular changes in individuals were not specifically related to affective approach type. These studies suggest that prediction of the behavior of an individual requires a thorough assessment of all three aspects of valency. The case studies presented in Chapters 6 and 19 demonstrate such an approach for one individual and suggest that it is feasible to hunt for relationships between valency pattern and perceptions in given group situations.

Our researches have tested the usefulness of the concepts of flight, fight, pairing, and dependency for characterizing the work-emotionality state or culture of training groups. There are times when the group can very clearly be described in terms of a single modality. At other times the group culture is more confused; two or more modalities may be operating or competing simultaneously, but such characterizations of the state of affairs result in loss of meaning; they do not "really fit." Some more fundamental assumption that integrates the modalities within a simple theme is needed. Moreover, one often sees illustrations of one modality being used to express concern over another. For example, periods of general expressions of warmth and friendliness may be used to avoid getting at real issues: pairing is used to express flight. In this case, the pairing and flight are sensed at different levels of consciousness, and this further complicates interpretation.

Further differentiation within the general concept of group culture may be required. To illustrate what might be involved: there are many situations that can be characterized, on the level of the basic assumption, as dependency. Yet in order to understand fully the meaning of this phase for the group one may well need to know the kind of dependency, the context in which it occurs, and the affective modes being used to express or react to dependency.

In spite of the usefulness of such further refinements, we are agreed that the fundamental nature of the modalities, the clarity with which they can be distinguished, and the power of interpretations and diagnoses based upon them have demonstrated their usefulness.

CHAPTER XXIV

Implications for Practitioners

RESEARCH demonstrates what sorts of processes occur under what conditions, and with what results. The practitioner or technologist uses such information in a variety of ways: to facilitate conditions or processes that move toward the ends desired, and to avoid or inhibit conditions or processes that go in other directions; to select a frame of reference and operationally defined variables valuable for understanding the group phenomena he deals with; to apply principles or demonstrated generalizations to his own situation for the purpose of building a picture of the "ideal" operation he strives for. Such a model is, of course, unachievable in practice, but it continually furnishes criteria for evaluation of happenings; and the discrepancies between actual and ideal generate realistic problems with which the practitioner must deal.

In this chapter on practical implications we shall be surest of our ground with respect to "training" groups, since these were the kinds of groups studied. But we believe the implications are reasonable for other groups also because the things that happen in training groups also occur in other groups.

The training group is in many ways a difficult kind of group to lead or in which to participate. Its purposes are difficult to define at any given time; its leader and member roles have to be worked out, and can change markedly over the time of several meetings; its members are very deeply involved emotionally, and their systems of defense and attack are prominent; there is no external authority or set of demands originating outside the group that can be used to help choose among alternatives; plans cannot be "laid out" for a series of meetings, since planning is done largely through diagnosis of the events each day. Through having and reflecting upon the experience of reaching the necessary agreements about authority, method of attack, and purposes, the training group learns how to deal with these difficulties.[1]

The advantage of other working groups over training groups comes from the fact that many of the necessary "agreements" are given initially, and do not have to be worked out by the group. But the "agreements" are not always appropriate to the task or the composition or the institutional expectations within which groups work. Thus even a group with "parliamentary procedure" has to decide when to hold rigorously to the letter of Robert's Rules and when to relax; it has to work out the boundaries of authority of a designated leader, even though these may be specified in writing; it has to test its own concepts of purpose against what can be accomplished, even though its "purposes" may be clearly stated in bylaws.

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[1] For a didactic account of goings-on in a training group similar to those we studied, see Herbert A. Thelen, *Dynamics of Groups at Work*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, Chapter 5.

All these problems of modifying expectancies are dynamically similar to those of training groups; they are simply less intensely felt, less often dealt with, and less often reflected upon as a means for improvement of operation.

Over the years we have found, in the practical situations of neighborhood action groups, three-day conferences, training groups, seminars, and others, that certain of the ideas or assumptions from our researches have also helped us improve practical operation. The scientist tests the power of an idea by seeing whether he can use it to predict what will happen; the practitioner tests the power of an idea in much the same way. The major difference, at least with regard to method, is that the scientist sets up the most careful arrangements he can so as to demonstrate under optimum conditions that his idea works (or that it does not). The practitioner takes the situation he has, and translates if-then thinking into every day goal-seeking action. An idea is sound for the practitioner if action in accordance with the idea moves the group toward its goals. If the practitioner locates his goals "out there" six months hence, then they cannot be used as criteria to test day-to-day action. But if goals are stated for each activity (e.g., getting out the variety of opinions in the next 20 minutes), then success can be used to check a mode of behavior. This is the sort of practical test to which we, in our practitioner roles, have put the ideas with which we have experimented.

In this chapter, we shall try to put into words some of the practical meanings and uses that we have found for concepts we have also studied research-wise. The following sections will attempt to share two kinds of ideas: ideas about how to look at (or what to look for) in the group; and some suggestions for dealing with some common practical problems.

I. HOW TO LOOK AT MEMBERS OF THE GROUP—INCLUDING OURSELVES

Each member has predispositions to behave in certain ways, and it is this fact that enables us to anticipate how a person whose "personality" we "know" will act.[2]

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[2] This is the concept of valence as "affective approach" tendency. See p. 24 for a definition of affective approach.

This set of predispositions is the result of genetic tendencies that have been modified and developed through life experiences so far. The most pervasive factor is the culture of the community in which one grows up; the most potent factor is the nature of early family life. To a very large extent, these factors operate without the individual's knowledge, consent, or awareness; he is "conditioned" by social forces. Thus it is that if an individual lives his life in a tightly knit, homogeneous community, we can, without knowledge of him specifically, say a great deal about his values and his probable behavior in the group.

The set of predispositions to behave in certain ways is also modified by learning, which is the use of intelligence to achieve more or less conscious purposes. Ordinarily we do not think of learning as likely to change "basic" characteristics, such as strong valencies for "fight," but we do expect learning to change the ways in which these tendencies are expressed and used in the group.[3]

All this adds up to the important realization that much of the determination of a person's behavior in the group is an expression of his basic character or life style through all the years of his life, and developed for the most part without his knowledge or consent. To a great extent, then, one must take group members as one finds them and cannot expect them to change in any sweeping way.

In almost any group there are some members who are helpful and creative. Others are "problem members." These are seen as selfish, monopolizing, off-target. The usual reaction to such individuals is to dislike them. The trouble is that if the group ties up its energy in disliking these individuals, it has little to work with. Many a group does mostly process work rather than task work; and the process work is all directed to trying to control these difficult characters. So what to do? Observations of groups that grow into effectiveness even in the face of these troublesome persons show us a probable way out: through realization that (1) there is no use in working on them because we are not really going to change them anyway—since they are so far out of touch with the realities of group expectations and influences; and (2) the problem is not really "What is wrong with them?" but rather "What is wrong with us that we can't cope with them?" The turning point comes when the members of the group finally realize (usually as a result of frying-pan sessions outside the meetings) that it is their own anxiety, cued off by this member, that is immobilizing them.

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[3] The modifiability of predispositions through impact of the training culture is the basis of training. Our work with individual change (Chapters 17, 18, and 19) has suggested to us that the set of predispositions possessed by each individual is fairly stable. The changes that occur during the course of a training group experience are likely to involve the more appropriate expression of existing impulses, or the freer expression of certain feelings through anxiety reduction.

It follows, then, that whatever will enable the members to deal with their anxiety (rather than denying it) will also lessen the problem mobilized by the troublesome individual. The beginning step in handling such situations is the frank admission to one another that they are baffled, not by the fellow as a person, but by the problem of knowing how to respond to his specifically described behaviors.[4]

To comprehend what a person is like requires terms for describing his tendencies. The terms fight, flight, dependency, pairing, and work, as illuminated throughout this monograph, can be very useful. They are general terms, and usually can be applied to several persons in a given situation. Thus, there is usually a subgroup of several persons who seem to want to be dependent on the leader; another few who seem to be trying to deny their wish to be dependent by acting more "independent" than the situation calls for; others wish to withdraw from the situation, and so on. Bion's idea that the group is, on different occasions, split into subgroups that have different tendencies to work, fight, or other, is a useful notion. At times of stress, when there is active controversy over what to do next, you will often be able to see that the plan advocated by one subgroup expresses a desire to "let George do it" (dependency); another plan, supported by several others, expresses the desire to go after somebody's hide (fight); another plan calls for collecting more data, then formulating and testing alternatives (work). Thus, one is able to see times of controversy as a conflict of wills between a limited number of subgroups whose members may or may not recognize one another.[5] In some of the groups studied, we have seen the group pull out of controversy by recognizing the desires underlying the suggestions, deciding quite self-consciously which kinds of desires they feel are "worthy" of them as a group, and then choosing in terms of this ideal of "what they stand for."

These simple designations of different subgroups are dangerous when applied to single individuals. Joe may be among the fighters when frustrating situations arise in the group; but it is not a good idea to think of Joe as a fighter, and let the matter rest there. Joe may also be, on other occasions in the group, a member of the work subgroup; and at other times he may cast his support to the people expressing dependency. To know Joe, we must know under what conditions he joins which subgroup. What is going on when Joe is among the fighters? or among the work-oriented people? Careful observation is called for. Finally, really to know Joe, so far as Joe can be known by you, requires your constructing a theory that explains plausibly why Joe fights when the group is frustrated, works when Mary and Tom make a proposal (but not when Dick and Jane do), becomes dependent on the leader when he thinks the group is being attacked by an outsider of high status, and so on.[6] By the time you "know" Joe this well, you will find that you can accept him for what he is; your like or dislike for him will not matter. For what all this process of studying Joe adds up to is simply a means for gaining control of the anxieties Joe raises in you.

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[4] For an illustration of this method in operation, see Stuart Chase, *Roads to Agreement,* p. 89–91.

[5] In Chapter 11, a group is analyzed in terms of the relations among such subgroups. It was found that over the total life of the group the subgroups differed in their behavior: each subgroup acted in a way that was consistent with its diagnosed need characteristics. When the members of such a subgroup are aware of their common interests they may form a recognizable clique.

We seldom simply look at other members of the group. The process of perceiving them is really an interaction between us and them. And it tells us about ourselves, too, if we will let it. Over time, it is helpful for us to note that for us, too, there are times when we do not listen, do not care, refuse responsibility; and also when we like everybody, feel relaxed and responsive. During these different moods, we respond differently to ideas, emotions, and persons. They, too, seem different to us at these different times. The fellow we dislike because he strives for status just a little too clearly may actually say something extremely valuable to the group once in a while; and, in certain moods, during which our own status anxieties are temporarily assuaged, we may be able to see the remarks as valuable. If we have not too thoroughly crystallized a negative stereotype of the man, we may even be able to respond to him positively and open the door not only to bringing out the best in him through giving him emotional support but also to accept our own status strivings a little better through being better able to accept them in someone else.

We conclude, then, that other persons are different under different conditions; that they can never be completely known and described; that all descriptions must start with the phrase, "Under such-and-such conditions in the group, Joe . . ."; that if we have strong feelings of like or dislike for a person we probably are better off to admit it to ourselves (and be as specific as possible); but that our like or dislike, while useful psychologically for self-understanding, is socially irrelevant because we have no choice but to work with others to accomplish the group's purposes. (This is the reason for having a group.) We identify with the group and its purposes primarily because we perceive that through membership in the group we can satisfy some of our private purposes (this is our purpose in joining the group, if we have any choice in the matter). So there are two relevant kinds of evaluations of members: (*a*) in terms of the resources of information, skill, and temperament they can give to the group purposes under a variety of conditions in the group; and (*b*) in terms of their usefulness to us for meeting our private needs and also the extent to which we must deprive ourselves psychologically in order to obtain their needed contributions. A sign of a mature group is that members of the group can and do make both kinds of evaluations and do not confuse one with the other.

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[6] In our research endeavors we found it necessary to study the individual clinically in order to approach this degree of precision of analysis. For example, in Chapter 10 it was found necessary to identify a member's predispositions, his preferences and avoidances, areas of conflict, and ways of defending against them in order to understand the sociometric choices he made in the group. The practitioner also works toward as thorough an understanding of the individual as possible, but he relies not on clinical instruments but on long experience with the member in a variety of situations.

II. HOW TO LOOK AT THE GROUP

The distinction between psychological and social evaluation of members, private and public goals, self-oriented and group-task-oriented approach, is also the distinction between the group as a laissez-faire society and the group as a purposive organization, or, more briefly, the group as an organism. One of the most striking things about persons is the difference in their ability to "see" or respond to the "group" as an organism. And yet, it is just this ability that *creates* the group as a purposive unit of society, even though it exists as a psychological entity with shared feelings and emotional problems whether the individuals perceive it or not.

As practitioners, we find there is no single "right" way to look at our groups. At different times, different aspects of the complex structure and processes come into focus. Let us mention some of the different aspects of the group that are helpful to be aware of under different circumstances.

The group as part of an institution or community.[7] The most obvious interrelationship between a group and its larger institutional or community environment is expressed in action. The making of recommendations to another body, the recruitment of new members, the finance campaign, the printing of statements in the newspaper, the hiring of workmen to make changes in the physical community—all these actions are forms of communication with the world outside the group. These communications are overt acts that actually change the community, through giving information, spending money, and so on. The two-way actions of groups on one another spell out the social interdependency among groups. This interdependency is comprehended by the question, "Who does what with whom, when, and with what results?" Interdependency assumes clearly defined roles or jobs to be done by each group, and co-operation based on demand: Group A (for example, a citizen group) asks Group B (for example, city officials) to take action of Type C with respect to Conditions D. On another occasion, Group B (for example, city officials) conducts a house-to-house building inspection survey of the homes of Group A and requires A's co-operation in the process. Functional roles and responsibilities are defined, and operation proceeds through each group's "initiating action" for the others. The ease of co-operation depends mostly on the extent to which the groups perceive that each is carrying out its work for the welfare of all rather than simply for the gratifications of the initiating agency.

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[7] This discussion is drawn largely from our work with community groups rather than from the research program. It is included here for the sake of completeness.

But there is a second kind of interdependency of a much more covert sort, and it is influential in determining the psychological "place" of the group in the community or institution. Failure to understand and deal with problems in this domain of covert interdependence probably results in more dashed hopes and bitterness than any other error. The basis of this covert interdependency is given in the simple fact that any time a number of persons go off by themselves and hold meetings, both the members and outsiders imagine that this is a group and that it has some intentions (or purposes) for having meetings. There may also be anticipations that it will satisfy these purposes, that its actions will be "good" or "bad" for others in the community, that it will express certain kinds of feelings, that it will approach nonmembers with certain kinds of attitudes, and so on. Because everybody has expectations of some sort, the group itself has the problem of developing a concept of itself as a group with a certain kind of job to do, a place in the community, and a set of guiding purposes or beliefs. This self-concept enables the group to distinguish itself from other groups to which the members belong, and thus to be able to give attention to the problem of defining the particular kinds of roles needed for the group under different circumstances.

A group, after all, is a number of persons. These persons live in the community and have work roles in their institutions. They are known to others through a variety of past role relationships. As soon as they are seen to be meeting together, an interesting puzzle develops: what is it that would bring these persons together in common cause? The more influential or wealthy the persons, the greater the interest in the puzzle and the greater the hopes or resentments others will have for the group. The *ad hominem* type of argument, which is properly offside in "scientific" work, probes the psychological realities of groups. Strongly work-oriented persons who just want "to get the job done" are baffled by the fact (whether you like it or not) that these covert, gossipy-type expectancies are influential and cannot be laughed off. What member A expects from himself is clearly relevant to work. What member A thinks outsider B expects from member A's group seems less relevant. What member A thinks B thinks A expects from Group A begins to sound like the multiple reflections in barbershop mirrors. What member A thinks B thinks A thinks B thinks of A's group is certainly carrying matters too far! Actually, however, these "cross-perceptions" are extremely important, especially when A's relation to B is a matter of concern to A, as, for example, when A is sent as a representative of another group of which B is President. It is exactly this kind of cross-perceptual to-do that accounts for the fact that groups made up of "official representatives" of other organizations (e.g., management meeting of heads of departments, community councils) often simply can't seem to get off the ground.[8]

The groups we have studied were made up of persons taken out of their home setting and placed on a training-oriented cultural island. The hope was that actual physical separation of A from all the others would release him from the psychological burdens produced by these cross-perceptions. To some extent this happens. To the extent that the cross-perceptions reinforce traditional or inappropriate ways of doing things, then weakening their frequency and immediacy, contributes to freedom and creativity. To the extent that the cross-perceptions represent stabilized expectancies and institutionalized agreements about values, habitual approaches, and roles, then their weakening tends to cut the person adrift with nothing to "depend upon."

Thus, the nature of the group's ties (through internalized expectations) to the community or institution has considerable influence on the kinds and intensities of problems the members will have in developing an efficient group.

The group as an organism. A general overview of the rationale for the notion of the group as an organism was presented in the first chapter. We wish here to underscore the implications of this notion that seem most useful for better practice.

The following understandings have been found especially useful in practical work with a variety of groups:

Groups do have their own "flavor," "climate," and "culture." Anyone who has ever visited a group after it has had several meetings and is well launched in pursuit of its purposes will know what we refer to. Little "family" jokes, different ways of reacting to the same thing when expressed by different persons, a set of seemingly undefined yet clearly apprehended enemies and friends, peculiar "house rules" for dealing with conflict, tolerance or intolerance of self-centered activity—all these have developed as a way of life.[9]

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[8] In an institution or community containing several groups working for similar purposes, there is intense need to know "what the other groups are doing." In the absence of information, fantasies and stereotypes are used to fill in the gap. At the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, we have found it useful to provide special C Groups, composed of representatives from all the major training groups, to supply eye-witness information to everyone. There is also a daily feed-back report of doings throughout the Laboratory.

The mood of the group shifts from time to time. There are periods of tension and of relaxation, of almost academic analysis of problems and of almost cathartic releases of feeling, of seeming to listen and respond to one another in an orderly way, and of seeming to go on an "every-man-for-himself" basis. The individual is aware of these moods, and there is usually common agreement in simple evaluative terms: "It was a productive meeting," "We wasted time," "We were confused," "We pulled closer together."

With each of these moods, units or phases of group life, a different group of participants carries the ball.[10] The group "works" by activating those who can articulate and implement the desire to work; it fights by encouraging the fighters; it reduces discord by giving the floor to the harmonizers or the problem analysts.

Each person reacts to the different moods (work-emotionality cultures) of the group in his own way. When the new culture is just getting started, the variety of reactions may be overt; as the mood develops, there is more and more participation by those who can best express the mood, with the others becoming silent; when the mood has served its purpose of maintaining the group through the period of unique stress that gave rise to the mood, then the hitherto nonparticipants become active in attempting to establish some new phase.[11]

Along with these changes in mood, there are changes in the cognitive work of suggesting ideas (which may, for example, be facilitated by a fight mood); defining the problem and scope of possible group action (which may be helped by some flavoring of a dependency culture); reserving commitment to a logically developed course of action until they can assimilate it emotionally (which may happen during a period of flight); and so on.[12]

Individuals express in their speech both ideas and feelings. The feelings are those they have toward a mood of the group, and imply that they are "going along" or "opposing" the current group will. The ideational part of the talk is relevant to the group's public problems and avowed purposes; but the affective part, if heard nonevaluatively and nondefensively, suggests the "real" purposes of the group. Thus, the phrase, "Of course I don't claim to know much about this, but it does seem to me that we ought to . . . ," sometimes is an apology for the possibility that the individual's ideas may be time-wasting; but, more often, it is a way of preparing one's defenses in advance of making a hostile remark. It is the feeling that goes with the statement that tells us its "real" intent, so far as anyone can know a "real" intent.

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[9] See the first few pages of Chapter 22; and also Chapter 13.

[10] This assumption constitutes the rationale for the unitizing procedure developed by Ben-Zeev and utilized in Chapters 4 and 9. The unitizing procedure assumes that points at which different subgroupings of members begin to participate mark off "natural units" from one another. Because each member's participation reflects a characertistic valency pattern, we expect successive natural units to differ in their work-emotionality characteristics. That this is so is demonstrated in the field graphs shown on pages 200 to 204. Successive units (in which different subgroupings participate) never occur at the same point on the work-emotionality graph.

[11] This formulation has not yet been tested experimentally.

[12] This notion, that the expression of emotionality can be a concomitant of high level work, is demonstrated for the group studied in Chapter 21. In the early stages of this group the expression of affect was invariably associated with the breakdown of work activity. However, later in the group's life the members "learned" to express affect in ways which furthered the work activity.

Different groups, and the same group at different times, differ in the extent to which they respond to the "real" intent of statements. Thus, a flight period or a flight group tends to take statements at their face value and simply to produce comedy (not always very funny). Groups that think they can "check their emotions at the door" are often far more "emotional" than groups which recognize and try to deal with feelings.

As a general proposition, the intelligent response to a contribution signifies an interpretation of suggestions in relation to purpose. It is almost impossible to "judge" behavior unless we know what its purpose is. Therefore an intelligent response during a meeting somehow takes account not only of "what" the man says, but "how" he says it; in other words, it considers both the cognitive and affective aspects of the statement.

The term "intelligent" in this connection means "reality-seeking." A response to what the member is "really driving at" is an intelligent response. In addition to being a response to the preceding statement, it initiates something to be followed up by succeeding statements. This new twist or suggestion or potential direction must, if it is to help the group, be group-task-oriented rather than only personally oriented. Thus, if what A seems to be "driving at" is that he's burned up at what is going on, then there are two possible directions of inquiry for the person who wants to respond to A's statements. The first is personal: did we step on A's toes by depriving him of some anticipated gratification? or is he working off a grouch due to something that happened earlier in the day? or is he jealous of some member who seems to be getting a lot of acceptance from the group? or what? The second direction of response is group-task-oriented: are others also angry and is A merely the one with the lower tolerance and therefore the one to speak out first? Is A's anger a response to frustration that could be dissipated by clarifying our intentions or the amount of work expected of members or our attitudes toward some other "pet" group of A's?

The second direction of response is the more appropriate. The first kind of response, if successful, either turns the group into a battleground or into an unsuccessful therapy group. The latter kind of response assumes that A belongs in the group, and that his sensitivities and articulateness are needed by the group to uncover the realities of their own life that they must deal with.

It is thus that we come to two important assumptions for group operation:

First: all statements in the group are to some extent speaking for the group as a whole; from a social standpoint, the particular voice giving expression to the need is unimportant.

Second: successful participation in a group is best characterized as an experience of *inquiry* together, in which problem solving is a process of successive clarification of vague and ambiguous conditions, and in which the "solution" is a confident clarification of what action the group will next engage in (or recommend for someone else, if it is *that* kind of group).

These notions pretty well summarize some of the major practical understandings embodied in Bion's concepts and found by us to have great explanatory power for the group processes we have studied. Note that these notions imply acceptance by members of considerably more than usual responsibility for the welfare of the group.[13] This is especially required in training groups in which the agenda has to come from the process of the group itself.

The group as a structured society. In our discussion of the individual and the group, we have spoken mostly of "the group" and of "the individual." This is, of course, too simple. Actually, groups usually contain subgroups that advocate or push for different directions and methods, and which come into conflict and alignment with one another at different times. We implied one basis of subgrouping in the discussion under "How to Look at Members of the Group—Including Ourselves."

Practitioners commonly see subgroups as cliques that are hostile to the practitioner: they present the group with obstacles to progress. And it is indeed true that one of the subgroups really may represent a kind of liaison among persons who cannot stand the idea that they are dependent on the leader; they therefore try to overwhelm the leader or otherwise render him ineffective.[14] As indicated above, the best hunch is that these are simply persons who, by giving one another support, can find the courage to voice that part of the ambivalence of most individuals over whether they want to "lead" or to "follow." In our society there is genuine confusion about when to do which.

In general, as we have often seen, new ideas tend to originate in one person's mind and then be shared within his subgroup, and finally, through concerted effort of the subgroup, get expressed in and perhaps adopted by the total group. A great deal of important conversation of creative groups goes on outside the group in informal self-selected knots of members. The more challenging and emotionally involving the problem, the more the volume of such conversations.

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[13] This is always observed in any training group which "grows."

[14] For an example, see Subgroup B, Chapter 11. In this subgroup, leader-rejecting behaviors are only a surface manifestation of "deeper" anxiety. We believe this is typical.

Practitioners who are interested in good solutions to problems and are not afraid to face realities tend to free group members for such subgroup activity, both outside meetings and in coffee breaks provided for the purpose. Practitioners interested in maintaining their own position tend to discourage such subgroupings or, at least, make the members feel guilty for having engaged in them.

It seems clear to us that the protection against an ill-conceived steam-roller job by a subgroup is not to be found in trying to wreck the steam roller; rather, it is found in leading the group to inquire into the steam roller's ideas: what conditions are these ideas supposed to correct, how can we predict whether they will correct these conditions, what data do we need to test the ideas, what first step would give us a check without irrevocably committing us to an ill-advised course of action.

It also seems clear to us that when the group is in danger of being overwhelmed by a proposal from a power individual or combination that it needs time—time to assimilate the ideas cognitively rather than to react only emotionally; and that one of the better ways to obtain this time is to label the idea "one hypothesis" and ask for other hypotheses, too, so that the group can have some basis of real choice.

It is common to find from sociometric studies that a group is likely to have a few "stars" or outstanding members who offer "natural leadership" for certain kinds of emotional-need expressions. The task leader and the group builder are oft-found types, for example. Similarly, at the cognitive level, there are likely to be adherents to opposite poles of controversial issues. The other members of the group may lean one way or the other, but basically they are ambivalent in their commitment. The most straightforward procedure is to encourage debate between the polar personages, but also making sure that the debate is about a publicly stated issue rather than being an undercover battle about some hidden issue. As the debate goes on, the others find their own ambivalences being worked out, and they gradually come in with their own ideas or questions, probably primarily for the purpose of testing the decision they are about to make.[15]

To suppress one of the "stars" is to run the risk of mobilizing the subgroups about another polarity: leader versus some strong member. Activity around such problems is gratifying to most persons, and the group may be easily seduced into such unnecessary side issues; but these seem to us to be avoidable by a little more spirit of inquiry and less defensiveness on the part of the leader.

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[15] This idea is utilized in "milieu" therapy. See Bruno Bettelheim and M. E. Sylvester, "Therapeutic Influence of the Group on the Individual," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* XVII, October, 1947, 684–692.

In general, we think of the group as the instrument through which individual tensions are released into ameliorative action; and we see the subgroup as the instrument through which private feelings and ideas are released into the group.

The group as a balance of forces. Underlying all these intermember maneuverings is a dynamic picture of the group as having impulses simultaneously to "work" and to "emotionality," as suggested by Bion. The various phases or emotion-work cultures of the group represent temporary states of balance between these two basic types of impulses.

The practitioner is concerned that the balance represent an integration rather than a conflict: the ideal is to have emotionality integrated with work, rather than to have the two fighting for ascendency. The group needs both kinds of expression: emotionality so that its real purposes can be diagnosed, and work so that it can use intelligent and informed methods actually to solve the problem that brought the group together.[16]

One common misunderstanding is that emotionality is "bad" or is a sign of weakness. This notion needs correction. One very effective training group maintained the same level of emotionality from start to finish; but it blended it with more and more work as time went on.[17] For most groups, the direction of improvement does not lie in suppressing emotionality, but rather in controlling it by letting it reveal motivations to work. That is, we want members to be "emotionally involved" in the task; but nobody gets emotionally involved in a task. What we get involved in is our needs for status, our fears of deprivation, our desires for success, our attachments to one another, our fear of emotion, our desires for a rational world.

To harness these kinds of involvements to the task means, usually, to broaden the scope of the task, so that it can be seen as having many legitimate facets any of which may secure involvement of some individual. The most common mistake is to make a sharp separation between deciding and taking action, namely "Let's decide what needs to be done, and then let's do it." In one sense, the logic of cognitive deliberation, this does occur. But psychologically the nature of the action is decided to a very high degree by the nature of the "decision process"; and in sophisticated group operation what happens is simply that over time commitment and readiness to take a particular action develop and express themselves in action. Under these conditions, the much-vaunted "call for a decision," which is the beginning of discussion under parliamentary procedure, is hardly more than a ritualistic expression of consensus. We have seen our training groups move into action without ever making a public "decision." And if you will review your own life you will find that it is almost impossible to decide when the "die was cast" for any of the most important choices in your life.

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[16] Chapters 12 and 20 carry the conceptual discussion further.

[17] This was group A, Chapter 22. Its history illustrated many of the points of this chapter.

The reason for this inseparability of decision and acting (except for administrative purposes) is that human beings react to past, present, and future events. They have a striking ability to push difficult problems into the future when they are not ready to cope with them in the present. An insufficiently thought-out discussion can barrel along happily to the point of decision; but if it must be followed by action, then the group's intelligence reasserts itself—and not a moment too soon—to delay the actual decision. If the group is not allowed to reopen a lot of issues that they did not really deal with up to this point, but rather is forced into a decision "by 5 o'clock," then the one thing we can be sure of is that the action will be difficult and inefficient and may very well make matters worse rather than better. Instead of taking action the group actually has to be forced to act, and to be supervised at every step. It's no wonder that some leaders feel it would be easier to do it themselves. In general, if a problem is to be turned over to a group to solve, then it must be given the amount of time and the kind of perceptive leadership (recruited from its own ranks or provided by the institution) that it needs. The "perceptive leadership" is one concerned with helping the various subgroups form in the first place, and then seeing to it that they get a fair hearing by the group as a whole, and, further, that the group identify and explicitly use those expressions of feeling that speak for parts of everybody's mixture of feelings.

The balance between work and emotionality can range from a clear oscillation between the two to an almost stable blending of the two. The latter was achieved by one of the groups we studied, but its early life was characterized by the former conditions. Bion's dependency, fight, and other categories seem to be found most clearly as separate phases toward the beginnings of the group's life. Toward the end, after ten meetings or so, our training groups tend to be work-dominated with all sorts of emotions being dealt with as they emerge. The condition required for oscillation is that emotion is not dealt with: it builds up, drawing more and more persons in, and then finally explodes into a kind of gratifying but painful disorder that must then be brought under control by going to work. It seems clear that the practitioner should try to discharge the mounting emotional tension into work before it reaches explosive proportions. In general, the leaders for whom group process proceeds as cycles of attempted work, tension-building, explosion, attempted work, tension-building, explosion, are leaders who cannot accept emotions of one or another sort. In a word, they are anxious individuals. They are too anxious to "get the task done with," or they are bothered by hostility directed seemingly at them (but usually only as handy targets). The unanxious type of leader can say sincerely, "Well, if that's the way it looks to you, then you certainly should feel angry at this point . . . I wonder if we hadn't better take another look at what we are up to. . . . Can anyone see what it is that we should clarify for one another at this point? . . . and thanks for calling our attention to this problem" (to the person expressing hostility to the leader).

Group process as inquiry. We have been struck many times by the contrapuntal character of group operation. The discussion looms a fabric in which various themes and purposes dominate for a while and then recess while other themes come to the fore. Yet the whole fabric has a pattern to it.

Our efforts to formulate categories of "work" were a response to this feeling that basically different kinds of jobs alternate in the group's life. And these jobs are accompanied by different emotionality-work states, different degrees of "freedom," and, oftentimes, a different pattern of interaction among members.

In a word, work may be seen as "self-oriented" or autistic; as group-maintaining ("process" work); or as task-problem-directed. We also used a fourth category: integrative, which tended to interpret the three other kinds with reference to group need and self-concept.[18]

Task-problem work is essentially an inquiry guided by experimental scientific method as usually understood. Given a stated set of conditions to be changed in the environment, or a stated problem to be solved, then the method is one of assessing the situation, setting up alternative plans for action, testing the plans against prior knowledge and experience, deciding on the criteria a good plan must meet, deciding on the plan in general, taking first action steps, reassessing the situation, and so on. This is a highly conscious process of problem solving, of the sort that has been endlessly studied in the military, for example.

Group maintenance or process work centers around the difficulties of organizing for work. To accomplish the task work, the group must be able to provide and co-ordinate a great many roles: information-seeking, evaluating, formulating the values the group wants to preserve or reach in its action program, acting (usually with differentiated individual responsibility), and others. To do this requires a great deal of listening to one another, honestly assessing member resources that can be brought to bear as needed, developing commitment to action, anticipating anxieties that will arise as they move along, and the like. To provide a culture in which this kind of conversation can go on requires defining and accepting the hierarchy of authority to which decisions can be referred (e.g., personal authority of leader *vs.* authority of the group's own tested experience), clarifying the boundary between personal and private (e.g., in the expression of opinion and feeling), clarifying the group's own role within the community or institution. Problems centering around these needs tend to be inexplicitly formulated; they may even be denied as having existence. To formulate them requires diagnosis of what sorts of conditions in the group would account for the different emotional reactions of individuals. (It is for this purpose that the Bion categories of emotionality are especially helpful.) To solve these difficulties requires as at least one fundamental step that persons express feelings and that others respond in such a way that it is clear to all that the feelings are shared (or not). This realization of shared feeling alone reduces anxiety, and often enables the group to proceed. More elaborate diagnosis and explicit formulation of process problems may also be required, and is essential if the group holds as a conscious objective the improvement of its own performance.

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[18] For more complete definitions, see Chapter 21; see also Herbert A. Thelen, and others, *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality,* Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954, pp. 27–30.

Personal work centers around the fact that if individuals are genuinely involved in work of the preceding two sorts, then they will have the problem of assimilating their new experiences into the subjective picture of the world they have developed up to this point. One way to describe the personal problems is to say that everyone has some kinds of expectancies for the behavior of the leader and members, for what values are important, for how to approach problem solving, and the like. They are likely to find these prior values and expectations being violated or at least called into question by the assumptions they think underlie the group's processes of deliberation, action, and use of member resources. Different things are important to different persons, and at different times during a meeting one sees members going "out-of-field" temporarily, their energies being tied up in the process of reconciling their notions of truth, justice, industry, honesty, attitudes toward others, with the concepts of these things that the group or certain members of the group seem to hold. Personal work usually requires the forming of alliances with one or more other members, and the intimate "talking through" of problems with them.

As practitioners, we find these categories of work useful to help us diagnose what is going on in the group, and to help us see how the work needs to be organized. The emotional categories identify the group's mood, and the work categories help us see what the mood is relevant to. If the group is fighting, then what is it fighting? Responsibility for action on the task problem? Members who want to take over the leadership (process problem)? Frustration of assorted private expectations (personal problem)? Similarly, we find it useful to identify the targets of the other emotional states the group gets into.

Thus, while we believe that all the work of the group can be seen as a blend of these three kinds of inquiries, we certainly believe that those who take responsibility for leadership must engage in continuous inquiry as to what the group is doing, or, to put it another way, inquiry into the reality factors that are influencing the operation of the group. Once the tentative diagnosis is made, the leader can shift his role experimentally and note whether the shift results in an automatic change of pace or shift of other roles. If it does, the diagnosis was correct and the group is ready to move; if it does not, the diagnosis of the readiness was judged incorrectly, and no harm is done. Hence the notion that leadership is basically experimental, and that it is guided by concepts of inquiry. And the further notion that for groups that are trying to improve their operation, these inquiries must be conducted openly and shared in by all, to the extent that the group is able to handle the emotional and cognitive content of the inquiry.

III. SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Our research observations and theories, tested in our own practical experiences during the period of the research, offer tentative suggestions with respect to a number of practical problems.

Problem 1. How important is the composition of the group, and, assuming that one can select members for certain group jobs, what factors should be considered?

Our research indicates that for purposes as searching and demanding as human relations training, the composition of the group can make the difference between success and failure (given the general methods of training used in the groups we studied[19]). Presumably for purposes requiring involvement of less of the "whole person," composition would be less critical. It is our belief that the composition of the group determines how far the group can go in training, and that the leadership determines how fast it will go and the extent to which it will realize its potentials for development.

Three factors seem to be the most important: (1) the extent of communality in the group with respect to expectation to work and expectation of degree of intimacy desired;[20] (2) the extent to which there are persons who can openly express attitudes for and against fight, dependency, pairing, and, possibly, flight;[21] and (3) the extent to which the leader's own problems of accepting and dealing with anxiety are different from the group's.[22]

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[19] See p. 16.

Considering groups in general, we would add a fourth factor: the extent to which the members have and can give the information and skills required for working on the task problems.

Problem 2. How large should the group be?

This depends on the purpose during each activity. In general, if the group is to plan and carry out action, it needs a lot of affective and cognitive communication, and plenty of opportunity for individuals to talk and test their feelings and ideas against those of others. In general, from 3 to 25 probably represents the minimum and maximum. The more vaguely defined the task, the smaller the group needs to be.

In general, we would advocate the smallest group that contains within it all the resources listed above, with least duplication of roles.

In practice, group size is relatively unimportant for the reason that it is no trick to divide a large group into smaller groups when the various kinds of problem realities demand it. Thus, in the case of a classroom, we would see the total group as the administrative unit, with learning going on in substantially smaller subgroups, from one-person groups up. For organizing one's past experience and bringing it to bear upon a problem one feels is important, subgroups of one person each seem reasonable. For drilling on spelling, vocabulary, memorization, and the like, groups of two seem right, with one person reciting and the other checking or quizzing. For groups to work out projects, groups of five or six seem the largest, because it is too difficult for all to stimulate one another and share views if a group gets larger. For planning an experiment under teacher supervision, a group of twelve to eighteen gives enough persons so that there will be a sufficiently large variety of suggestions and hypotheses from among which to select. And so on.[23]

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[20] One of the ways in which the two groups studied in Chapter 22 differed was in the extent of communality of self-percept among the members. In Group A all members (except two) shared to some extent in a personal standard concerning the expression of feeling. In Group B no such communality existed. This difference may have been one factor involved in the fact that Group A showed greater development toward the integrated expression of work and emotionality than did Group B.

[21] In Chapter 14, two groups were compared whose membership consisted entirely of work-pairing and flight persons, respectively. The two groups differed markedly in their approach to problem solving (see pp. 129–30). In Chapters 5, 8, and 15, two groups were compared that differed in that one included pairing members while the other did not. This difference in composition appeared to influence the kind of affect expressed in the group (p. 40) and the members who showed change (pp. 135–39).

[22] In the two groups referred to in Footnote 20, Group A's leader shared in the commonly accepted standard for the expression of feeling. In contrast, the leader of Group B was part of a subtype whose members competed for power. It seems reasonable to assume that this, along with the factor of communality, per se, influenced the course of group development. If, for example, the leader of Group B had been able to interpret or mediate competition in the group rather than participate in it, the course of group growth might have been different.

Problem 3. What is required for maximum creativity in the group?

In general, our experiences with training groups bear out the notion that creativity is the result of prevention of inhibition and threat on the one hand, and of stimulation, motivation, and clarification on the other.

The group must be motivated: it must want to solve the problem, and this means that it probably needs to have firsthand experiences that put the members under tension. Then there must be the opportunity to discharge the tension by grappling directly with the problem, rather than, for example, by fighting the leader, scapegoating a member, or shifting responsibility to something outside the group. To grapple directly with the problem requires alternation of solitude, during which one collects his thoughts and hopes for insight, with stimulation and sharing, during which ideas get kicked around, elaborated, and defended—this is the process of finding new meanings that would not occur to one by oneself. To engage in this latter process with others requires conditions such that one not only can take the risk of sticking his neck out but will, in fact, be rewarded for so doing. Risk-taking seems to be easiest when the group is not too deadly serious, because a serious group is too conscious of time-wasting: it is too intent on the goal to be able to back up and approach it by the kind of circling maneuvers through which new ideational territory can be discovered. The group must also be under pressure, so that there will be expectations of performance and reward for performance, but it should probably arrange the pressures for itself through consideration of deadlines for each step; and these deadlines should be easily modifiable through orderly processes of examination of progress, difficulties, and energy and time resources. We note that these conditions for creativity—are also the conditions for getting work done, and we propose that constant talk about whether the group is creative may simply add to its anxiety without increasing creativity over and above the amount that goes with effective working.

Problem 4. Does a group need a designated leader? If so, under what conditions?

Our studies of group growth are suggestive. In general, a group does not need a leader if all the members are thoroughly familiar with all aspects of the problem to be solved and want to solve it. Under these conditions they can listen to one another and understand one another, and have the will to do so. We have never seen a group like this at its first meeting, but we have seen groups approach this condition over time.

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[23] This is spelled out in considerable detail in Herbert A. Thelen, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2.

When a problem is so large that each person has hold only of a limited part of it, there must be some provision for co-ordinating contributions into a single group effort. When a group is heterogeneous with respect to values, they can make use of a "referee," as, for example, the chairman under parliamentary rules (who must lay down the gavel when he participates to take sides). When a group contains persons whose personality predispositions are dominated by one emotionality (for example, dependency), a liaison person is needed who has some tendencies in several directions. (Such a person has enough need for dependency himself that he can respond to it, but he also has tendencies of other sorts so that he can interpret the persons to one another.)

From time to time the group needs a different sort of central person, and a perceptive designated leader can do a great deal to help activate the person needed most at particular times. Thus, we see the designated leader as primarily a methodologist, concerned to see that the group has the help it needs from the members who can best give it. And the actual leadership itself is distributed, not by chance nor on an equal participation basis, but in terms of who can best give the group the guidance and help it needs for maximum productivity.

Problem 5. Is there any best leadership style? What in general can be said about all leadership situations?

We have seen good training jobs being done by persons of widely different "styles." We do not have any evidence that would support a definition of leadership at the level of an approved pattern of specific behaviors. We have also seen leaders behave quite inconsistently at different times, especially with respect to degree of directiveness. The best leadership behavior, like the best membership behavior, is whatever is appropriate to the needs of the group in its ever-changing situation. While all leaders have limits to the range of emotion-work situations in which they can function with objectivity, humor, and sensitivity, still, within that range they should feel free to create any kind of behavior that their analysis suggests is worth trying—provided it is done experimentally and provided the group's capacity to recover from a wrong guess is as great as the error.

Although the arrangements for the personnel of leadership have to be worked out fresh for every group, every purpose, and every situation, still we believe that there are some basic functions that leadership embodies—regardless of how it is provided:

First: Purveyor of institutional realities within which the group operates. Within an institution, groups are set up for particular purposes, and they are expected to move toward attainment of these purposes. Often there are further authoritative expectations of the manner or method by which this movement is to occur. Since these limits are given arbitrarily by someone else, the group cannot reasonably be expected to discover the limits through deliberation, and they might just as well be told.

For completely "free" interest groups, this function is unimportant, because the group has within itself the resources to test the feasibility of boundaries to its scope of action.

Second: Interpreter of the group to the "outside world." The rationale for this function is given in the section on the group as part of an institution or community.

Third: Continual diagnosis and clarification of purposes the group seems to be striving for. This is sometimes assigned to an observer, but in our opinion most nonparticipants build up too much frustration at not being allowed to participate to be able to handle this function with the required objectivity. In a word, the group as a group (or at least the active participants in the group at a given time) are communicating with one another on the basis of some assumed purpose. Oftentimes neither the participants themselves nor (especially) the nonparticipants have a clear idea as to where they are heading. Especially when the situation is an emotional one, the participants may be simply acting out personal defensive needs, and they are responding almost at the level of defensive responses rather than at the level of intelligent determination of behavior.

What is needed here is not a censor, policeman, or guardian of morals and manners. The need is for diagnosis of purpose so that the inactive members will know how to get into the act, and the active members can use their intelligence to achieve their purposes more directly. Sometimes, of course, clarification of purposes being striven for results in rejection of those purposes as unworthy of the group or irrelevant to its purposes. In this case a change of direction is indicated. Sometimes, too, the diagnosis is rejected because it is wrong (in which case it should be rejected) or because the participants are getting too much gratification to stop, or because the purpose is too threatening to the self-concept of one, several, or all of the members.

In any case, a group operates better when it knows and accepts what it is doing and why it is important that it should do it; and this condition can be facilitated by paying attention to the need and trying to help.

Fourth: Leadership continually defines the demands the group must meet whenever the demands change, or are forgotten, or knowledge of them is being repressed. This is the other side of point three. The situation of the group is defined both by knowledge of its internal purposes, within its areas of choice, and by its external purposes as imposed by continual redefinition of the reality situation to be changed. In a way, we might say that knowledge brings changed responsibilities and demands. A clear-cut example of this occurred, for instance, when a group of neighbors who thought that their major problem was to face up to the in-migration of Negroes, discovered that the real problem they feared was community deterioration. When they realized that they had rather drastically changed their perception of the problem, they began to plan an entirely different sort of program.

Fifth: Leadership is continually concerned to maintain a close balance between emotionality and work in the group. Feelings are encouraged to mount (or at least allowed to mount) until they have enough intensity that they can be clearly recognized for what they are; at this point, the group needs to ask why these feelings emerge, what they tell about the way the situation is perceived, and what conditions need to be changed, or new problems solved. Similarly, after the group has been talking overacademically for a time, engaging in all sorts of intellectual feats in an uninvolved sort of way, there is need for someone to raise the question of what all this means for us, and whether anyone actually has had experience with these ideas in a real situation. In a word, emotion unattached to ideas reveals little that is useful to the group; and ideas uninvested with feeling have neither action nor problem-solving potentials.

Sixth: Leadership always talks to the group, not to particular individuals. It is assumed that the group must cope with its problems once it sees what they are, and that it will cope with these best on a voluntary basis. Whoever wants to help with a contribution should feel free to do so. The analogy with community legislation is close: just as laws cannot be passed to favor or deprive a particular group, so authoritative statements cannot be made to discriminate against persons. The group is concerned to get the behaviors it needs from whoever can supply them; but it should not care who contributes them. Individual members will, of course, have such concerns, but that is their private business and should not burden the group.[24]

Problem 6. Is member satisfaction a sign that all is going well? Should participation in a group be pleasant and easy?

The answer to this one is yes and no. When everyone agrees that "it was a swell meeting," it might be due to a number of causes: complacency, relief at having survived, progress toward group goals, enjoyment without pain of thought, and so on. A good meeting is one in which members listen to and respond to one another's ideas, where there is progress toward explicit goals or toward cleaning up whatever conditions stand in the way of goal progress, where members try hard to contribute needed behaviors, and there is production and reduction of tension.

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[24] See also Herbert A. Thelen, *op. cit.*, Chapter 11, Footnote 6.

The more undefined the problems or purposes, the more heterogeneous the temperaments of the members, the more unskillful the members, the more evaluative the attitudes, the harder the job. For those who enjoy such hard jobs they are rewarding, but they are still hard. In general, a small steering committee, which has rehearsed the problems the group will run into, can help a great deal to break big problems into smaller problems and to clarify process without at the same time stultifying freedom of thought.

In general, a hard-working group has hard work. It assumes responsibility for its recommendations and actions and tries to understand the subtleties of its own psychosocial existence.

CONCLUSION

We are just as leery of "how to do it" manuals as anyone else, and especially with respect to human behavioral problems. On the other hand, we have as practitioners profited greatly from our research studies; and we have, in this chapter, tried to share the profit. We believe that there is possible a science of human behavior, and that, although the application of this science to human affairs will always be an artistic matter, still even an artist can express himself better if he knows the materials he is working with. We have indicated sections of our work that seem especially pertinent to the notions expressed in this chapter; although many of the statements above seem to us to come from a whole way of thinking about groups rather than from any particular finding. Thus, we are resigned to the recognition that rigorous documentation cannot be possible. We hope that the reader of this monograph will see other, possibly different, implications; and we would welcome opportunities to talk them over.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix to Chapter 5

Part 1. Sample Postmeeting Reaction Questionnaire

WHAT THE GROUP WAS LIKE

Instructions: Rank the statements below from *Most Like* the meeting you were just in to *Least Like* this meeting. Place the letter of the statement which best describes (is *Most Like*) the meeting in the space beside Rank No. 1, the letter of the statement which is next to the *Most Like* the meeting in Rank No. 2, the letter of the statement which is *Least Like* the meeting in the space beside Rank No. 10, etc.

The Meeting was like this:	Rank #	Letter of statement
A. There was much warmth and friendliness.	Most Like: 1	________
B. There was a lot of aggressive behavior.	2	________
C. People were uninterested and uninvolved.	3	________
D. People tried to dominate and take over the meeting.	4	________
E. We were in need of help.	5	________
F. Much of the conversation was irrelevant and tangential.	6	________
G. We were strictly task-oriented.	7	________
H. The members were being very polite to each other.	8	________
I. There was a lot of underlying irritation.	9	________
J. We worked on our process problems.	Least Like: 10	________

Instructions: Fill in the blanks.

1. In this meeting I agreed most with ________. I also agreed with ________. I agreed least with ________.
2. The major spokesman for the group today was ________.
3. I felt closest to ________.
4. I felt farthest from ________.

MY ROLE

Instructions: Rank the statements below from *Most Like* the way you acted during this meeting to *Least Like* your behavior. Place the letter of the statement which best describes (is *Most Like*) your behavior in the space beside Rank No. 1. The letter of the statement which is next to the *Most Like* your behavior goes in Rank No. 2. Put the letter of the statement which is *Least Like* the way you acted in the space beside Rank No. 10, etc.

	Rank #	Letter of statement
A. I was especially warm and friendly toward one or two other members.	Most Like: 1	______
B. I did not participate much.	2	______
C. I concentrated on the job.	3	______
D. I tried to get everyone involved in the task.	4	______
E. I took over the leadership.	5	______
F. I was polite to all the members.	6	______
G. My suggestions were frequently off the point.	7	______
H. I was a follower.	8	______
I. I was irritated.	9	______
J. I was eager and aggressive.	Least Like: 10	______

Part 2. The Analyses of Variance: Procedure and Data

In order to identify differences in perception between modality types and from meeting to meeting, a series of analyses of variance was performed. Each descriptive statement was dealt with separately for each of the two training groups. Each of the resulting forty analyses of variance involved the following two variables:

(1) Modality type: Fight, Flight, Dependency, and Counterdependency for Group I; these plus Pairing for Group II.

(2) Day: First through fifteenth meeting for both groups. In order to apply analysis of variance to the data, the ranks were transformed by normal transformation into scores.

The results of these analyses are shown in Tables 44, 45, 46, and 47. As an illustration of the manner in which these rather complicated tables may be interpreted, the first row of Table 46 will be commented on:

Each row of each table summarizes the findings of a separate analysis of variance. Table 46, Row 1, summarizes the findings for the pairing statement in the "my role" questionnaire for Group II. Columns 2, 3, and 4 show the F values and significance levels of the two variables, type and day, and of the interaction between the two variables. The remaining columns present information that can help to interpret these F values. In our illustration there is a significant F value for the variable "type." This indicates that different valency types described themselves differently with respect to pairing. In order to know which subtypes described themselves as high in pairing and which low, the means of the converted ranks are shown in Columns 6 through 10. In this case the means show that the pairing, fight, and dependency members saw themselves as expressing warmth in the group, while the flight and the counterdependency members did not. The F value for "day" is also significant. The information contained in Column 11 helps to interpret this finding. There are 15 figures in this cell. Each row represents a week and each column a day of the week, and the figures represent the means of the converted ranks for days, all members combined (rounded to the nearest whole).

This information is included only when the F value for "day" is significant. In the case being used for illustration here, it is clear that there was a general tendency for all members to see the group as relatively high in pairing during the first and final weeks and as relatively low in pairing during the middle week.

The F value for interaction is not significant (it is, in fact, significant for only two of the forty analyses of variance). If it were significant, it would indicate that the self-perception of pairing changes through time for certain types and not for others.

All other rows of these tables may be interpreted in an analogous fashion.

Table 44

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODALITY TYPES AND FROM DAY TO DAY IN MEMBER PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN ROLE IN THE GROUP: TRAINING GROUP I

Modality of descriptive statements	*F values**			*Total mean*	*Means for types. All meetings combined*				*Means of days*				
	Type	*Day*	*T × D*		*F*	*Fl*	*D*	*CD*					
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(11)*				
Pairing	.72†	1.41	.24	15.24	2.5	3.0	4.74	5.0					
Flight, withdrawal	**7.18†**	**1.93**	.67	8.74	–.25	3.76	6.98	–1.75	0	0	3	8	0
									6	1	1	2	0
									–1	1	6	4	4
Work task	1.21†	.91	.74	47.47	15.3	12.1	6.98	13.1					
Work process	**3.30†**	.55	.65	.01	–3.11	–1.04	4.13	.01					
Counterdependency	1.52†	1.25	.93	–21.94	–7.87	–3.1	–6.76	–4.21					
Superficial pairing	**6.8 †**	1.57	1.05	20.20	5.98	2.12	2.19	9.91					
Flight-irrelevance	**8.7**	.81	1.25	–29.25	–1.18	–9.79	–7.4	–10.88					
Dependency	**3.66†**	.76	.82	–10.66	.74	–8.52	–4.32	1.44					
Fight-hostility	**3.09**	1.21	**2.18**	–26.43	–9.16	–2.12	–7.6	–7.55					
Fight-aggression	**3.44†**	1.29	.75	–5.27	–2.62	4.00	–2.75	–3.90					

* F values significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; at the .01 level they are in bold type.
† Cells marked with daggers signify pooled interaction error terms.
Degrees of Freedom: Type (3,120); Day (14,120); Interaction (42,120).

Table 45

(Continued on page 270)

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODALITY TYPES AND FROM DAY TO DAY IN MEMBER PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT THE GROUP WAS LIKE: TRAINING GROUP I

Modality of descriptive statements	*F values**			*Total mean*	*Means for types. All meetings combined*				*Means of days*				
	Type	*Day*	*T × D*		*F*	*Fl*	*D*	*CD*					
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(11)*				
Pairing	1.08†	**5.33**	1.08	28.75	7.58	4.82	7.90	8.44	2	12	2	2	1
									1	10	0	−2	4
									4	3	15	11	8
Flight, withdrawal	**4.91**†	**3.15**	.58	−40.19	−9.40	−14.81	−5.62	−10.36	−11	−13	−4	−11	−10
									−1	−6	−8	−1	−12
									−8	−6	−6	−10	−7
Work task	3.1†	**7.3**	1.12	8.02	6.7	1.04	−.14	.42	−2	−1	−8	10	−3
									−8	−4	−3	−2	14
									3	7	6	8	7
Work process	**6.31**†	**2.94**	1.16	29.78	7.86	12.48	1.18	8.26	4	6	−3	6	8
									−1	7	−2	6	11
									14	7	5	9	8
Counterdependency	1.30	**4.73**	1.07	−7.83	−3.84	−.22	−.52	−3.25	−1	−1	6	2	1
									−6	−2	9	1	−4
									−4	−9	−7	−5	−3
Superficial pairing	**4.31**	**4.34**	1.40	17.09	6.30	.80	3.67	6.32	7	5	1	4	3
									6	4	−6	4	4
									−7	5	7	3	6

* F values significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; at the .001 level they are in extrabold type.

† Cells marked with daggers signify pooled interaction error terms.

Degrees of Freedom: Day (14,150); Type (4,150); Interaction (56,150).

Table 45—Continued

Flight-irrelevance	**6.25**	**2.24**	**1.58**	−3.43	3.30	−.84	1.07	−6.96	5	−2	4	−5	−1
									5	3	0	0	−1
									−1	0	−5	−5	6
Dependency	**7.8** †	**3.8**	.51	−23.30	−10.71	−2.99	−8.42	−1.18	4	−6	−3	−7	−2
									5	−5	0	−7	−10
									−4	−5	−6	−11	−6
Fight-hostility	.59	1.63	.97	−4.50	−2.80	−.59	−1.06	−.05					
Fight-aggression	**4.63**†	**5.17**	.46	−3.55	−5.14	2.00	1.26	−1.67	−4	5	5	0	1
									−4	−7	11	−1	−4
									1	−5	−7	1	−3

* F values significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; at the .001 level they are in extrabold type.
† Cells marked with daggers signify pooled interaction error terms.
Degrees of Freedom: Day (14,150); Type (4,150); Interaction (56,150).

Table 46

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODALITY TYPES AND FROM DAY TO DAY IN MEMBER PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN ROLE IN THE GROUP: TRAINING GROUP II

Modality of descriptive statements	*F values**			*Total mean*	*Means for types. All meetings combined*					
	Type	*Day*	*T × D*		*F*	*Fl*	*D*	*CD*	*P*	*Means of days*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*
Pairing	**9.02**	**2.40‡**	1.02	28.12	9.46	1.51	7.92	.28	8.95	11 10 4 2 8 4 0 2 2 7 8 6 7 10 12
Flight, withdrawal	1.25†	**2.40‡**	.88	6.85	.43	2.46	2.94	2.96	−1.94	−11 −5 −5 −3 2 3 1 5 5 7 3 2 7 −4 6
Work task	**8.08**	.46	1.00	68.12	6.92	16.1	13.8	15.4	15.9	
Work process	**12.50**	1.68	1.25	7.34	−.36	3.75	−4.6	7.45	−3.5	
Counterdependency	2.39†	1.52	.36	−31.60	−5.70	−6.9	−3.4	−10.3	−5.3	
Superficial pairing	**10.35**	1.64	.87	29.20	6.30	6.3	−2.4	11.1	7.9	
Flight-irrelevance	**14.61**	.74	.70	−50.30	−4.60	−17.2	−6.9	−8.6	−13.0	
Dependency	1.42†	1.22	.92	−18.10	−1.20	−.7	−5.1	−4.9	−6.2	
Fight-hostility	**4.35‡**	**1.93**	.92	−42.00	−12.6	−6.1	−5.6	−12.2	−5.5	−9 −11 −6 −8 −11 −13 −7 −7 0 −2 −12 −7 −7 −16 −15
Fight-aggression	.46†	**1.83**	.58	4.0	.20	1.10	3.2	.10	−.60	5 5 8 6 4 −1 3 1 −4 2 −1 −4 −7 −3 −5

* F values significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; at the .01 level they are in demibold type with a double dagger; and at the .001 level they are in extrabold type.

† Cells marked with dagger signify pooled interaction error terms.

Degrees of Freedom: Day (14,150); Type (4,150); Interaction (56,150).

Table 47

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODALITY TYPES AND FROM DAY TO DAY IN MEMBER PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT THE GROUP WAS LIKE: TRAINING GROUP II

Modality of descriptive statements	*F values **			*Total mean*	*Means for types. All meetings combined*					*Means of days*				
	Type	*Day*	*T × D*		*F*	*Fl*	*D*	*CD*	*P*					
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*				
Pairing	**3.4** †	**7.08**	.79	35.90	11.3	4.7	3.8	8.7	7.4	5	11	0	–4	10
										20	7	3	–2	2
										13	10	5	16	16
Flight, withdrawal	**10.8** †	**4.31**	1.04	–35.29	–5.24	–8.93	–1.71	–4.90	–14.51	–10	–16	–6	–4	–7
										–12	–6	–5	–7	–16
										–5	3	1	–7	–11
Work task	**7.62** †	**5.79**	1.06	11.40	.67	7.76	–6.46	2.94	6.49	0	13	2	–4	1
										10	2	2	–7	–3
										2	–3	–5	14	14
Work process	**4.87** †	**2.94**	1.17	33.69	2.54	3.83	8.21	8.10	11.01	6	11	9	–1	9
										10	4	10	–5	6
										12	2	4	9	11
Counterdependency	**4.52** †	**3.02**	.91	–14.41	–4.34	–3.85	–.06	–6.96	.80	–4	–4	3	5	5
										–8	–4	–7	1	–7
										–2	–2	–4	–8	–2
Superficial pairing	**8.2** †	**4.48**	1.08	20.65	7.74	3.52	–3.74	8.28	4.85	11	2	–2	–1	1
										6	12	8	0	1
										7	12	3	7	6

Table 47—*Continued*

Flight-irrelevance	6.94†	2.84	.98	–25.82	–2.42	–6.79	–1.75	–3.58	–11.28	–4	–5	–7	–4	–8
										–10	–4	–1	2	–6
										–11	–2	–1	–9	–9
Dependency	**2.73†**	**3.6**	.87	–15.46	–1.09	–7.01	–1.09	–5.49	–.78	7	–5	–3	1	–5
										–1	–6	–1	7	1
										–5	–6	–1	–9	–11
Fight-hostility	**2.85**	**4.29**	.75	–7.64	–5.28	.22	2.98	–2.56	–3.0	–2	–5	1	7	–5
										–8	–1	–5	6	9
										–8	–6	1	–8	–9
Fight-aggression	**6.15**	**2.47‡**	1.0	–10.64	–4.65	5.44	–2.93	–7.06	–1.44	–8	–2	4	2	–1
										–6	–3	–5	0	7
										–3	–8	–5	–3	–5

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* F values significant at the .05 level are in demibold type; at the .01 level they are in demibold type with a double dagger; and at the .001 level they are in extrabold type.

† Cells marked with dagger signify pooled interaction error terms.

Degrees of Freedom: Day (14,150); Type (4,150); Interaction (56,150).

APPENDIX B

Appendix to Chapter 10

Part 1. Population of Self-Descriptive Q-Sort Statements

Dependency statements

Item 15 Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
27 Preferred to proceed along established lines.
33 Annoyed when the actions of the leader were not what he expected.
3 Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
9 Liked to appear in a good light in relation to group leaders.
21 Comfortable when the leaders were active and directive.
39 Expected the leaders to take major responsibility for planning group activities.
51 Tended to defend the leaders when they were attacked by others.
45 Inclined to follow the suggestions of another group member.
54 Inclined to direct his comments to the leaders rather than to group members.

Counterdependency Statements

Item 12 Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
60 Tended to express negative feelings about the leader.
30 Tended to maintain himself in a focal position during discussions.
18 Enjoyed counterposing himself to the leaders.
24 Tended to look to other members to back up his position.
6 Tended to suggest alternative action to that proposed by the leader.
42 Tried to lead others against the leader.
36 Inclined to assume a directive role in the group.
48 Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
57 Concerned with maintaining a high status in the group.

Pairing Statements

Item 43 Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
1 Liked to keep group discussion on a personal level.
37 Inclined to bring intimate material to the group.
49 Would have preferred a smaller, more intimate group.
31 Wanted to be a member of a clique.

7 Attached to one or two particular members.
19 Wanted to know some of the other members of the group intimately.
52 Liked to make side comments to one other member.
25 Felt that social relations were maintained on too formal a level.
13 Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.

Counterpairing Statements

Item 55 Felt that social relationships were too intimate.
46 Resistive against breaking up into smaller subgroups.
10 Detached in manner.
22 Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
16 Disinclined to make personal comments about other members.
4 Disinclined to form special friendships.
28 Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
34 Embarrassed when other members make personal comments about him.
40 Unresponsive to gestures of friendship.
58 Tended to discourage personal discussion between two other group members.

Fight Statements

Item 11 Ready to take sides in an argument.
41 Tended to express annoyance toward other members of the group.
47 Tended to become sarcastic when annoyed.
35 Subtle in attacking others.
56 Tended to start arguments.
5 Critical of other members.
23 Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.
29 Prolonged or intensified arguments.
59 Eager to respond to attack by counterattack.
17 Tended to sidetrack the group from its goals.

Flight Statements

Item 2 Uncomfortable when negative feelings were expressed in the group.
8 Reluctant to come to meetings.
53 Didn't like to express negative or critical opinions.
32 Inclined to mediate arguments.
20 Preferred to remain neutral when several members of the group were arguing.
44 Tried to avoid being drawn into an argument.
14 Inclined to make light of ill feeling expressed.
26 When attacked felt uncomfortable and remained silent.
38 Uneasy during group disharmony.
50 Tried not to show his true feelings.

Part 2. The Statements Found to Be Most Characteristic for Factors A, B, –B, and C for a Seven-Member Training Group

	Emotional Category	*Item No.*	*Statement*
Factor A	CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
	CD	36	Inclined to assume a directive role in the group.
	CD	12	Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
	D	15	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
	Fl	32	Inclined to mediate arguments.
	Fl	38	Uneasy during group disharmony.
Factor B	P	25	Felt that social relationships were maintained on too formal a level.
	P	37	Inclined to bring intimate material to the group.
	CD	48	Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
	F	59	Eager to respond to attack with counterattack.
	P	1	Liked to keep group discussion on a personal level.
	F	11	Ready to take sides in an argument.
	P	13	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two other members.
Factor –B	CP	22	Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
	D	3	Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
	Fl	8	Reluctant to come to meetings.
	CP	16	Disinclined to make personal comments about other members.
	F	35	Subtle in attacking others.
	D	45	Inclined to follow the suggestions of another group member.
	Fl	50	Tried not to show his true feelings.
Factor C	D	15	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
	P	19	Wanted to know some of the other members of the group intimately.
	CP	22	Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
	D	45	Inclined to follow the suggestions of another group member.

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	*Statement*
P	43	Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
P	7	Attached to one or two particular members.
P	13	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.

Part 3. The Statements Found to Be Most Characteristic for Each Member of a Seven-Member Training Group.

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	*Factor*	*Statement*
Member 1			
D	15	A	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
CP	28		Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
D	3	–B	Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
CP	16		Disinclined to make personal comments about others.
Fl	50		Tried not to show his true feelings.
CP	4	U[1]	Disinclined to form special friendships.
Fl	20		Preferred to remain neutral when several members of the group were arguing.
F	23		Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.
Fl	53		Didn't like to express negative or critical feelings.
Member 2			
CD	6	A	Tended to suggest alternative action to that proposed by the leader.
CD	12		Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
CD	36		Inclined to assume a directive role.
P	7		Attached to one or two particular members.
P	13	C	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.
P	19		Wanted to know some of the other members of the group intimately.
CP	22		Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
P	25	U	Felt that social relationships were maintained on too formal a level.
CP	46		Resistive against breaking up into smaller subgroups.

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[1] The symbol "U" refers to those statements which are not a part of any of the identified factors, but are *unique* to the individual. They thus describe self-perceptual characteristics that the individual does not share with other members of the group.

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	*Factor*	*Statement*
Member 3			
F	11	B	Ready to take sides in an argument.
P	13	B, C	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.
F	59	B	Eager to respond to attack with counterattack.
P	7	C	Attached to one or two particular members.
P	43		Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
D	3	U	Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
D	27		Preferred to proceed along established lines.
F	29		Prolonged or intensified arguments.
P	31		Wanted to be a member of a clique.
CP	46		Resistive against breaking up into smaller subgroups.
Member 4			(Member 4 is represented entirely by Factor B. See the "most characteristic" statements for Factor B, presented in Part 1 of this Appendix.)
Member 5			
CP	28	A	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
CD	36		Inclined to assume a directive role in the group.
CD	12		Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
D	15		Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
F	11	U	Ready to take sides in an argument.
P	13		Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.
P	25		Felt that social relationships were maintained on too formal a level.
Member 6			
CP	28	A	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
Fl	38		Uneasy during group disharmony.
Fl	32		Inclined to mediate arguments.
CD	6	U	Tended to suggest alternative action to that proposed by the leader.
CP	16		Disinclined to make personal comments about other members.
D	33		Annoyed when the actions of the leader were not what he expected.
CP	46		Resistive against breaking up into smaller subgroups.
Member 7			(Member 7 is represented entirely by Factor C. See the "most characteristic" statements for Factor C, presented in Part 1 of this Appendix.)

APPENDIX C

Appendix to Chapter 11

THE MOST AND LEAST CHARACTERISTIC Q STATEMENTS FOR EACH SUBTYPE. GROUP B

Q-Sort Data for Subtype A

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
CD	36	Inclined to assume a directive role in the group.
CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
CD	30	Tended to maintain himself in a focal position during discussions.
D	39	Expected the leaders to take major responsibility for planning group activities.
CD	48	Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
CP	10	Detached in manner.
D	3	Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
D	27	Preferred to proceed along established lines.
		Least Characteristic Items
P	1	Liked to keep group discussions on a personal level.
F	29	Prolonged or intensified arguments.
P	37	Inclined to bring intimate material to the group.
F	56	Tended to start arguments.
P	31	Wanted to be a member of a clique.
F	17	Wanted to sidetrack the group from its goals.
F	35	Subtle in attacking others.
F	41	Tended to express annoyance toward other members.
F	47	Tended to become sarcastic when annoyed.
Fl	53	Didn't like to express negative or critical opinions.

Q-Sort Data for Subtype B

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.

F	11	Ready to take sides in an argument.
F	59	Eager to respond to attack by counterattack.
Fl	50	Tried not to show his true feelings.
P	43	Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
CD	48	Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
Fl	32	Inclined to mediate arguments.
P	19	Wanted to know some of the other members of the group intimately.
P	13	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.
F	23	Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.
		Least Characteristic Items
CP	40	Unresponsive to gestures of friendship.
CD	12	Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
CP	10	Disinclined to form special friendships.
Fl	44	Tried to avoid being drawn into an argument.
F	17	Tended to sidetrack the group from its goal.
P	1	Liked to keep group discussion on a personal level.
P	52	Liked to make side comments to one other member.
D	54	Inclined to direct his comments to the leader rather than to group members.

Q-Sort Data for Subtype C

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
Fl	38	Uneasy during disharmony.
D	15	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
Fl	53	Didn't like to express negative or critical opinions.
Fl	20	Preferred to remain neutral when several members of the group were arguing.
CD	24	Tended to look to other members to back up his opinion.
Fl	50	Tried not to show his true feelings.
Fl	2	Uncomfortable when negative feelings were expressed in the group.
D	3	Inclined to follow the suggestions of the leader.
P	13	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two particular members.
		Least Characteristic Items
CD	30	Tended to maintain himself in a focal position during discussions.
CD	36	Inclined to assume a directive role in the group.
CD	12	Wanted to assume active leadership himself.
F	23	Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.

CD	18	Enjoyed counterposing himself to the leader.
CD	48	Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
CD	42	Tried to lead others against the leader.

Q-Sort Data for Subtype AC

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
CP	22	Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
Fl	32	Inclined to mediate arguments.
CD	57	Concerned with maintaining a high status in the group.
D	21	Comfortable when the leaders were active and directive.
CD	48	Felt competitive toward individuals who attempted to dominate the group.
D	9	Liked to appear in a good light in relation to group leaders.
P	43	Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
D	15	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
		Least Characteristic Items
F	29	Prolonged or intensified arguments.
P	31	Wanted to be a member of a clique.
F	17	Tended to sidetrack the group from its goals.
F	56	Tended to start arguments.
CD	60	Tended to express negative feelings about the leader.
F	47	Tended to become sarcastic when annoyed.
F	5	Critical of other members.
CD	18	Enjoyed counterposing himself to the leaders.

Q-Sort Data for Subtype BC

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
Fl	32	Inclined to mediate arguments.
D	9	Liked to appear in a good light in relation to group leaders.
P	43	Inclined to extend group friendships outside the group.
D	51	Tended to defend the leaders when they were attacked by others.
Fl	2	Uncomfortable when negative feelings were expressed in the group.
CP	16	Disinclined to make personal comments about other members.
Fl	50	Tried not to show his true feelings.
P	19	Wanted to know some of the other members of the group intimately.

CP	34	Embarrassed when other members made personal comments about him.
Fl	38	Uneasy during group disharmony.

Least Characteristic Items

P	31	Wanted to be a member of a clique.
CP	40	Unresponsive to gestures of friendship.
P	1	Liked to keep group discussion on a personal level.
CD	42	Tried to lead others against the leaders.
F	29	Prolonged or intensified arguments.
D	54	Inclined to direct his comments to the leader rather than to group members.
P	7	Attached to one or two particular members.
CD	12	Wanted to assume active leadership himself.

APPENDIX D

Appendix to Chapter 18

Part 1. Population of Self-Descriptive Q-Sort Statements

Fight-Neutral Statements (FN)

7. I enjoy a good argument in the group.
22. When someone attacks me I fight back.
37. When I'm annoyed I feel free to say so.
52. I am impulsive in expressing feelings against others.
67. I get angry quickly but get over it just as quickly.
82. I feel that my role is that of critically evaluating the progress of the group.

Fight-Supportive Statements (FS)

2. My expressions of impatience help when the group is apathetic.
17. I think it helps to say what you feel even though it may hurt someone's feelings.
32. When the group is following some task blindly without much interest I point it out.
47. When people talk in vague terms I ask them what they really mean.
62. When someone makes an irresponsible suggestion I point it out.
77. When a group adopts a suggestion without looking into it I think it should be told.

Fight-Destructive (FD)

12. I tend to question the decisions the group makes.
42. I question whether the group really knows what it's doing.
60. I resent it when people say "Let's get back to the problem."
72. When I'm mad at the group I refuse to make suggestions.
30. I stand by my position regardless of what the group thinks.
90. I refuse to work on insignificant problems.

Dependency-Neutral (DN)

13. I am inclined to go along with the way the group as a whole feels about something.
28. I feel most comfortable when the leader actively gives direction.
43. I feel curious about why the leader makes the comments he does.
58. I feel self-conscious about what the leader is thinking of me.

73. I'm willing to follow the suggestions of other group members.
88. I would rather let others set the direction of the group.

Dependency-Supportive (DS)

8. I try to help establish a working routine for the group.
23. I try to make sure I know what's wanted before I present a plan or suggestion.
38. I'm willing to discuss whatever issues the group thinks important.
53. I feel the leader's role is to indicate the direction he wants the group to follow.
68. I'm inclined to support the suggestions the leader makes in the group.
83. When the group bogs down, I'm likely to ask for suggestions.

Dependency-Destructive (DD)

3. I feel that others are better qualified to make suggestions to the group.
18. I feel a group shouldn't begin a problem until it knows what others did in the same situation.
33. I don't like to commit myself on an issue until I know how others stand.
48. I think the leader should handle the group so that those who don't want to contribute don't have to.
63. I feel it's the leader's job to prepare an agenda for the group.
78. I don't think a group should discuss things within itself it wouldn't say outside.

Pairing-Neutral (PN)

5. I enjoy talking about my personal reactions in the group.
19. I feel closer to some members than to others.
35. I feel warmly about the group as a whole.
49. I'm inclined to make warm friends among group members.
65. I want to know some of the other members of the group more intimately.
79. I get especially attached to one or two particular members.

Pairing-Supportive (PS)

14. I try to see that everyone who wants to, gets a chance to participate.
29. I enjoy planning group activities with certain other members.
44. I think a large group can get more done by breaking up into small subgroups.
59. I try to suggest procedures which most members will feel comfortable with.
74. When the group can't seem to get ahead I try to be sensitive to everyone's feelings about the situation.
89. I like to work out solutions cooperatively with other members.

Pairing-Destructive (PD)

9. I feel the group shouldn't discuss issues likely to divide the group.
24. I like to exchange private comments about what is happening with certain other members.
39. I try to keep up a friendly, polite atmosphere in the group.
54. The approval of others is important to me.

69. I feel it's important for all the members to think well of each other.
84. My attempts to discuss personal matters seem to bother other members.

Flight-Neutral (FlN)

10. I keep myself from expressing strong feelings in the group.
26. I prefer keeping relations with others on an impersonal level.
40. I don't like to show my real feelings in the group.
56. I tend to feel that what goes on in meetings is pretty unimportant.
70. I like group discussion to have a light touch.
86. During group discussion I become interested in following my own train of thought.

Flight-Supportive (FlS)

4. I can discuss issues best in abstract rather than personal terms.
20. When the group can't get ahead I change the subject.
34. I can work best if I maintain an objective attitude toward the group.
50. When I want to really understand group operation I withdraw from participation for a time.
64. When a touchy issue comes up I think the group ought to think about it overnight.
80. I'm interested in the philosophical implications back of group action.

Flight-Destructive (FlD)

15. I lose interest when people make heavy demands on the group.
27. I feel there's not much use going on when the group doesn't know what it wants to do.
45. When the group can't seem to make progress I feel it should disband.
57. Other members don't seem to see what's happening in the group the same way I do.
75. I find it hard to see what the "problem" is the others are talking about.
87. I find it wiser not to try to participate when strong feelings are expressed in the group.

Counterdependency-Neutral (CDN)

1. I play an active, influential role in the group.
16. I think the leader should participate only minimally in the group.
31. I like a leader who acts like just another member.
46. I don't pay much attention to what the leader does.
61. I insist on making my own decisions.
76. I think experienced members are looked up to too much.

Counterdependency-Supportive (CDS)

11. When the group can't get started I'm not afraid to stick my neck out with a suggestion.
25. I think the group shouldn't accept a leader's plan any more readily than a member's.
41. I feel that group members can solve their own problems without help if they really want to.

55. I like to get my own suggestions into the discussion before the group decides anything.
71. I feel the leader shouldn't intervene when the group is working hard on a problem.
85. When the group is bogged down I like to be the one who takes over.

Counterdependency-Destructive (CDD)

6. I enjoy arguing with the leader of the group.
21. I enjoy testing my leadership skills against those of other members.
36. Group members who control things irritate me.
51. I feel that a lot of a leader's activity is intended simply to keep control of the group.
66. I tend to suggest alternative plans to those proposed by the leader.
81. I feel some members have to get together to keep a check on the leader.

Part 2. Original Score Summaries for Members 4 and 29

Table 48

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH EMOTIONAL MODALITY AND EACH WORK LEVEL (PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS COMBINED): MEMBER 4

	Modality				
Work level	*D*	*CD*	*P*	*F*	*Fl*
N	81	87	97	92	101
S	108	90	134	98	117
D	95	72	105	82	81

Table 49

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH EMOTIONAL MODALITY, PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS (ALL WORK LEVELS COMBINED): MEMBER 4

	Modality				
Administration	*D*	*CD*	*P*	*F*	*Fl*
Pre	132	125	166	135	162
Post	152	124	170	137	137

Table 50

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH WORK LEVEL, PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS (ALL EMOTIONAL MODALITIES COMBINED): MEMBER 4

	Work Level		
Administration	*N*	*S*	*D*
Pre	226	260	234
Post	232	287	201

Table 51

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH EMOTIONAL MODALITY AND EACH WORK LEVEL (PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS COMBINED): MEMBER 29

	Modality				
Work level	*D*	*CD*	*P*	*F*	*Fl*
N	90	92	113	93	99
S	112	109	131	91	96
D	79	73	108	81	73

Table 52

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH EMOTIONAL MODALITY, PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS (ALL WORK LEVELS COMBINED): MEMBER 29

	Modality				
Administration	*D*	*CD*	*P*	*F*	*Fl*
Pre	137	137	176	137	133
Post	144	137	176	128	135

Table 53

SUM OF THE RANKS FOR EACH WORK LEVEL, PRE- AND POSTADMINISTRATIONS (ALL EMOTIONAL MODALITIES COMBINED): MEMBER 29

	Work Level		
Administration	*N*	*S*	*D*
Pre	247	271	202
Post	240	268	212

APPENDIX E

Appendix to Chapter 22

THE MOST AND LEAST CHARACTERISTIC Q STATEMENTS FOR EACH SUBTYPE, GROUP A.

Q-Sort Data for Factor X

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
D	15	Inclined to go along with the dominant mood of the group.
Fl	32	Inclined to mediate arguments.
CP	22	Preferred discussing issues in intellectual rather than personal terms.
D	45	Inclined to follow the suggestions of another group member.
CP	28	Oriented toward the group as a whole rather than toward particular members.
Fl	20	Preferred to remain neutral when several members of the group were arguing.
CP	34	Embarrassed when other members made personal comments about him.
CP	16	Disinclined to make personal comments about other members.
		Least Characteristic Items
F	23	Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.
F	59	Inclined to respond to attack with counterattack.
CD	18	Enjoyed counterposing himself to the leaders.
F	56	Tended to start arguments.
F	47	Tended to become sarcastic when annoyed.
CD	42	Tried to lead others against the leader.
D	54	Inclined to direct his comments to the leader rather than to group members.

Q-Sort Data for Factor Y

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
F	35	Subtle in attacking others.
F	47	Tended to become sarcastic when annoyed.
F	23	Impulsive in expressing negative feelings.
F	29	Prolonged or intensified arguments.

		Least Characteristic Items
Fl	8	Reluctant to come to meetings.
CP	10	Detached in manner.
P	37	Inclined to bring intimate material to the group.
D	21	Comfortable when the leaders were active and directive.
Fl	2	Uncomfortable when negative feelings were expressed in the group.
P	31	Wanted to be a member of a clique.

Q-Sort Data for Factor Z

Emotional Category	*Item No.*	Most Characteristic Items
P	7	Attached to one or two particular members.
F	11	Ready to take sides in an argument.
P	13	Enjoyed personal interchanges with one or two other members.
P	25	Felt that social relationships were maintained on too formal a level.
		Least Characteristic Items
CP	10	Detached in manner.
CP	40	Unresponsive to gestures of friendship.
Fl	2	Uncomfortable when negative feelings were expressed in the group.
CP	4	Disinclined to form special friendships.

Factors –X, –Y, and –Z are the reverse of factors X, Y, and Z.

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